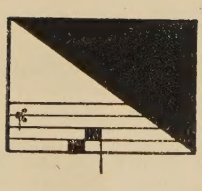
MVSICA DISCIPLINA

A Journal of the History of Music

ARMEN CARAPETYAN
Editor



Vol. V - 1951

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY
ROME

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EDITORIAL

A Preface to the Transcription of Polyphonic Music

The present pages deal with the transcription of polyphonic music, but do not offer a systematic exposition of the problems involved, much less their solution. They contain only a brief discussion of some general principles — of a « philosophy » of transcription — together with some remarks on the significance of transcribing polyphonic music.

The transcription and publication of polyphonic music, together with the transcription and publication of the contemporary musical treatises, — the bringing to light and to life of the music of a great past age — is undoubtedly the noblest and the prime task before musicology. Even if this music were of an indifferent artistic value from our point of view, this task would still challenge us, and it would remain scientifically of the utmost importance ; for its realization would anyhow fulfil a prime goal of musical scholarship, that is, open to us an intimate door to the mind of a past age and reveal man through perhaps the subtlest activity of his intellect and the most delicate flowering of his spirit.

But when we see that, beyond all this, our approach to polyphonic music discovers to us stars of the very first magnitude in the firmament of artistic production through the ages ; when we realize that some of these stars are mighty solar systems heretofore only invisible to us because of our limited sight and limited means but now gradually coming to sight through the ever extendable telescope of serious musicological endeavor, then we become aware of the great and noble task that stands before us, and of the responsibility that rests upon our shoulders.

Musicology yet in its infancy, with limited knowledge, limited acquaintance even, and because of the general timidity of infancy, has not declared to the wide musical world that as counterpart, at least, to the great stars in the 17th to 19th century sky there are stars fully as great and even greater in the northern and southern skies of the 13th to 16th century, dim to our general view only because of their greater distance from us and perhaps also because of our befogged vision.

Anyhow, in order that justice may be done to polyphonic music both scientifically and artistically, it is incumbent upon the transcriber to take to his task an array of qualifications and a very serious sense of responsibility. Above all, he must know what general principles — what « philosophy » of transcription — will guide him. He must have some clear ideas about such questions as : What is the primary purpose, after all, in transcribing and editing polyphonic music ? To whom does the transcription address itself ? Is the transcription merely for the sake of the impeccable critical apparatus that it indeed must carry, reduced thus to a basis for a sort of philological study, or must it also, and perhaps above all, stand as a work of art ? Are strictly scientific rules of transcription possible, applicable uniformly and mechanically, or only broad scientific canons, some of them always, others sometimes, subject to the dictates of higher considerations ?

The history of transcription is relatively very short and surely not coherent. In the case of the 13th to 14th century it is yet hardly possible to speak of a history of transcription. The earliest transcribers did what they could and what they thought served their purpose ; and others even who transcribed for giving the music to the public did not concern themselves with problems : they simply turned the original notes to their literal equivalents in modern notation, at the same time keeping elements of the original notation, and applied concepts of modern music to what little editing they did. At all events, the work of those early transcribers reached no further than the simpler 16th century sources — and that was not really entering the field. Later transcribers followed example. Only about a quarter of a century ago did musicologists — a few of them — become conscious of the problems of transcription beyond mere paleography, and even paleographical problems have certainly not all been settled. From the time prior to a quarter of a century ago we have inherited a certain mass of transcription that is neither here nor there, neither fish nor flesh nor fowl ; and since then this mass has not gone without additions. In fact, today we witness in one case a perfection of what the earliest transcribers did, knowing no better, a transcription that really betrays the word and of course the purpose, since it is not much more than a curiosity at best describable as a sort of scored quasi-facsimile. But elsewhere some intelligent efforts have been made and many methods have been experimented with — some thoughtful, some ingenious but without good foundation, some faithful to theory but misapplied in practice, and some out of a tendency towards the esoteric or the pedantic. Anyhow, it is still impossible — it would be bizarre — to speak of a developed science or method of transcription. Indeed excluding the case of the few who would so insist, perhaps the only thing about which there is a fairly general

agreement is that we are groping in the dark or at best cautiously moving in twilight. Day is yet to come. But twilight is a time promising and pregnant with events, if we ready ourselves for the day. Musicology is only at its morn.

But to ready ourselves for the day we must be realistic, and come day we must courageously face facts. Now the point at which musicology seems to have the greatest difficulty in being realistic is to accept that there is and there can be no such thing as an exact science of transcription. The transcription of polyphonic music into modern notation and for the modern reader will forever carry experimentation, empiricism, will ever be pragmatic to some extent and compromising. It is at most utopian, at least short-sighted, to expect an absolute or even a fairly exact science out of that which includes many non-scientific, imaginative, intuitive — in short, artistic — elements and comes, furthermore, from an epoch where standardization and scientific method in our sense were surely unknown things. Art, specially music, of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was an intellectual preoccupation, but that does not mean mere scientific method. We had better abandon the noble but unrealistic idea of an exact science of transcription, guarding on the other hand against the silly notion (of which the results one sees in much « sheet-music » editions of polyphonic music) that transcribing is merely a matter of personal taste — or the lack of it. And those who with good intention and sincerity would at all costs satisfy the contemporary theorists must be reminded that transcription today to some extent means translation. It must take into account the modern reader for whom the work is done and who is in a predicament in the face of music that is beyond his culture and habits — habits of which some must be met and conformed to, others circumvented. It is noble to abide in peace with the contemporary theorists, but useless if by so doing we shut the reader out or confound him, and a pity if the music itself receives a garb that, though theoretically spotless, practically is ill fitting. It is well to bear in mind that after all theorists are in general the spokesmen of art that has already lived and not creators of art, and never was this more true than in the Middle Ages, a change taking place in the field of music only at the closing years of the 15th century and that in a limited sense.

The transcription will fare well if the transcriber, though aware of the empirical element in his task, will strive hard and attain to a result that will reflect painstaking and sound study of the musicological problems and at the same time will show the fruits of thorough musical training and ripe musical experience and insight. Purely « scientific edition » (the term has actually been used by some well known musicologists) is as uncouth and uncomely as an empty no-

tion. And « purely practical » or « purely artistic » transcription or edition springs from ignorance or benighted idealism, or unabashed commercialism. Transcription is an art and a science, not the one to the exclusion of the other.

We must break down and admit that we transcribe — that we ought to transcribe — for practical use, or that we indulge in a costly pastime to fill shelves by the editions themselves and by other statistical, sterile works occasioned by them. And by practical use is meant not merely the sounding of the music, capital as this is, but also the study through the music of man and his culture, as well as the art's technique and style — all of which are eminently practical uses to give to the edition.

This means for one thing that we must neither lose time quarreling about the one chosen method of transcription nor condone with the very considerable foolishness in transcription that we see about us, all in waiting for the blessed day when troubles will end by the application of a final and absolutely objective method.

Conscientious transcription will always be an arduous and time consuming task ; and it will always bring about misgiving. It will demand the best of one's knowledge, the finest of one's imaginative scholarship, the highest of one's intuition, checked by the strictest of tests ; the transcription must be examined and reexamined, tested practically and theoretically. Above all, the task will want the best of common sense on a high plane of scholarly and artistic development ; and it will take time, time. He who cannot devote time — appallingly much time — to his transcribing would do better not to undertake it. One has heard that the average polyphonic mass may be transcribed in a week. It may, so far as concerns putting it down in modern notation with modern barring and with some sort of setting of the text. But many weeks, many months even, would be a truer estimate for a carefully considered and carefully concluded job.

* * *

Only some salient points will be considered from the realm of actual transcribing. The problems will vary according to the point of view taken and the « philosophy » adopted by the transcriber. Such subjects as clefs, reduction, barring, setting of the text, still remain as sources of the principle problems.

The practice, so far, of transcription has shown some curious inconsistencies. For example, it has been reluctant in adopting reduction in the time-value of the notes, it has persisted on marking the notes in a ligature, it has valiently fought against the barbarians who would do away with the original clefs, all in a well-meant faith-

fulness to externalities of the original ; but it has mercilessly thrust bars into the music and imposed on it the device that is more than anything else incompatible with the form and inner property of polyphony : the modern measure. On the other side, transcription has acted liberally, letting the modern clefs usurp the place of the old ones, experimenting with barring and the like, but has balked at reducing the time-value as necessary or at treating the text so that it may be singable. In short, looking back, the thing seems wrong side round : where modern elements should have been introduced in the first place they were left out, and where they should have been rejected they have been fondly or thoughtlessly practiced.

Clefs. At the very outset of transcribing, before a note is put down, we are before an issue. Old clefs or the so-called modern ones ? If we adopt the view that the transcription must be a practical and living thing then the choice of clefs would seem already decided. But let us admit that at this very first step as we set to transcribe we make a compromise. We leave the simplicity and convenience of the old clefs to meet the average reader, the average specialized reader even, whose musical training has not equiped him for the reading of those clefs, and who will not trouble himself to so equip himself. Right here, at the start, we find the reader in a predicament, as mentioned above, and we must conform. However, once we abandon the legitimate clefs we adopt a bastard one — the transposed treble clef, which is as vexatious to many a reader of the old clefs as the latter are to the reader not at home with them. In the midst of a compromise, we become uncompromising and shy away from a few ledger lines. Typographical necessity may compel the use of the bastard clef, and anyhow it is perhaps preferable to use that clef than to write excessiviely beyond an occasional third ledger line ; but where this is not the case, the view that ledger lines are an aberration or unbecoming to transcribed polyphony is prudery, and anyhow unjustified on the part of the transcriber who has left the order and comfort of the old clefs and plunged into a compromise.

Natural treble clef or transposed, the matter does not end here. To us ' soprano,' ' alto,' ' tenor,' ' bass,' and their respective clefs have an intrinsic meaning and connote a specific range, whereas their various equivalents in polyphony are relative and variable. We cannot apply our system to our transcription of polyphony but can only decide on one of the three clefs at our disposal, the treble, transposed treble, bass, as best suitable, and must identify the voices in the transcription or in the notes, if there is an ambiguity. Only expediency governs our behavior here and no absolute factor. If so, we may freely change between treble and bass clef in the same

voice and in the same movement, if we have chosen only the normal treble clef for the middle voices, and if these cover, as they often do, a wide range. This device will avoid embarrassment with excessive ledger lines or entirely eliminate the use of the transposed clef.

Reduction of time-value. The next step in transcribing, still before we are able to put down a note, takes us to another question. With the early transcribers the question of whether or not to reduce did not even arise. But even today there are resistors to the idea, and among the practicers themselves of reduction there is no general agreement on ratio. We may at last assume that lengthy arguments for a reduction are not necessary. Even from the merely typographical standpoint the empty and shapeless appearance of the printed page carrying almost entirely white notes, and few of them, is uninviting and unfortunate. The problem however centres neither of course in typographical considerations nor in externalities of the music itself, nor yet in the obvious psychological factor affecting the tempo in the performance of the transcription. It touches the very essence of the music, and it is of critical significance for our comprehension of that music.

The frustration caused by the difficulty in visually grasping the steps in the movement of music transcribed without a reduction is known to all students. There are under the best circumstances some deep-rooted barriers to the modern reader's understanding of polyphony, and we aggravate his difficulties if we set this music before him with the clauses, phrases and sentences of the melody unduly stretched on the page, beyond easy visual comprehension and in notes that to him do not spell, as it were, melodic words. Here is a point at which not only may we make a concession to the reader but where it is necessary that we conform to his background and habit. For him the whole note — direct transcription of the semibreve in the original — simply does not count as the rhythmic unit in the formation of a melodic utterance. Not even the half-note — when the original values have been reduced by a half — but the quarter-note is the rhythmic unit by which we are normally accustomed to construct a melody. The transcriber who, zealous in his loyalty to an external aspect of the original, insists on a direct transcript in this respect of the original, deplorably fails to take into consideration the difference regarding a psychological factor between his reader and the reader of the original. Even on his own grounds of externalities he disregards or perhaps fails to think of the difference between the two versions ; for, besides the psychological factor, the contemporary of the original read his music from single parts, not scores, written without bar lines, until the 16th century prints without any concession at all to the demands in

spacing of the text, with the aid frequently of ligatures significant in this sense, and finally from a page whose use had been conditioned also by the factor of economy of space. Never has typography known a more compact page composition, and the transcriber himself knows how many of his larger pages he must fill to finish with a single page of the original. The problem of visual comprehension, then, did not exist for the reader of the manuscripts and early prints, even if we take into account only the typographical aspect without considering that reader's undeniable advantages over us in background, training, habit, familiarity — in short, his advantages as a contemporary of the music.

We must reduce the time value then, and must reduce the music we transcribe down to a denominator comprehensible to us. And we must bear in mind that above all, above considerations of convenient arrangement, tempo or else, reduction is to facilitate and favor our grasp of the melody and consequently of the music as a whole. This is very closely connected with and depends even more on another topic of transcription — the topic that follows.

Barring. Having settled the questions of clef and reduction, the transcriber only writes a few notes and is again faced with a problem — this time really a hurdle, the clearing of which, if he cares to consider the hurdle, is the most troublesome but also the most challenging part of his task. Nowhere is the compromise in transcribing polyphony more evident and more embarrassing. The very fact that we write bar lines, no matter where and how, or that we talk about them at all is a compromise! And no aspect of transcription is more at the mercy of the transcriber's knowledge and wisdom, his art and insight.

The bar line has for us a definite function and significance from the points of view both of the producer and reproducer of music; it has a structural and interpretive meaning; and all this, specially the interpretive significance, is plainly incompatible and out of step with much of the polyphonic music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In this music bar lines are outright intruders, reaching not merely externalities but essentials. They are as foreign to this music as crooning would be to its style of singing. They are makers of trouble and misunderstanding. Yet we have written them in our transcriptions; we have written them first without misgivings, then with a limited venture on the part of a few in experimentation and discussion, or with unlimited confidence on the part of some others about their ideas and their practice. Today we are still without a sure light on the course we ought to take.

The best solution of the problem would be, in this case, its total elimination. We might transcribe the music but leave it in its

original form of a single and continuous voice part, without any bars. This is undoubtedly the best form in which to put the music in the hands of the individual singer, and it is worth hoping that someday conductors and singers, having proved to themselves the advantages over the apparent difficulties, will have brought about a movement towards a general practice of singing from part books rather than from a score, as did their fellow musicians of the past age. But we could hardly expect that today's conductor or the student of the music be able to manage without a score. The transcriber himself, when working with sources written not in the simplest notation, would not be able to transcribe with any certainty without scoring. And scoring means some kind of barring.

Again a certain attention and discussion have gone the wrong or quite unessential way. We have discussed the merits and demerits of the bar line on the stave and between the staves, of solid lines or broken lines, and the kind, when actually once a line is drawn it is of very little importance whether it is solid or broken, on the stave or between staves. The mitigating effect of the bar line between the staves rather than on the stave is quite negligible if the bar line cuts through the music and interrupts its flow ; and it is wishful thinking that if the bar does not cut through the physical line the real musical line too necessarily goes uncut ! The problem centres of course not in the vertical situation but the horizontal occurrence of the bar lines, and it requires a more serious treatment. But the matter defies any formulation of exact rules or of precepts. One can only speak safely in negatives and offer some cautious and tentative suggestions in the positive. The unimaginative scholar will find it hard to tolerate such a state of things, and driven by the urge for exact science, will insist on fixed rules and will find them in musical theory or practice. This is at all events far preferable to loose experimentation or fancyful play. The imaginative scholar will find a challenge and will set to hard search and hard work till the last, never expecting, much less insisting, that the thing will be entirely brought under fixed rules. The ready and romantic transcriber will let his fancy run away with him.

Save for the frottolesque and rhythmically simple madrigalesque and related music of the 16th century, which is less sensitive to treatment by our measure and barring, and also with the exception of some simple forms and of the rhythmically regulated music of the earlier periods, polyphony suffers grievously, more or less, in the usually barred form of our transcription. The trained mind and expert eye of the transcriber can bridge the gap between his transcription and the original, but we must also think of the reader. In the period of « scientific editions » the transcriber was addressing his work to his fellow-specialists and today's problems of an edition

directed to a much wider public did not press him. But now the matter is as much to the interest of the serious student and specialist as of the conductor and singer. For the former it is no less than the true meter, the true form and architectonics of the music in question, with their limitless interest and consequences in research and studies ; for the latter it is a question of seeing these factors clarified and singing the music without distortion and muddle.

We are not here to condemn the seriously edited music to which the modern measures have been applied *a priori*. It has already been said that once barring is practiced not all polyphony demands a drastic change in this matter ; not even all the works of the same composer, or all the movements of a large work — e. g. a mass — differ to the same extent by true barring as against the usual barring. The serious editor without an urge for exploration can only continue in the generally accepted path in the midst of various voices, each calling him its way. But we are here to plead that eventually we abandon *a priori*, mechanical barring, when pioneer work and consequent developments will have founded solid enough ground for training and tradition in *a posteriori*, true barring.

True barring is no mystery ; but neither is it always a simple matter (in terms of time alone, the transcriber's work increases at least five times, and more, as compared with transcription by *a priori* barring). The principle is simple, the practice delicate and subtle. The principle is to follow the musical discourse and then punctuate it rather than mechanically interrupt it at regular intervals ; it is to find the foot (first by the right reduction in note-values), and the meter and the metrical composition, as it were, of the musical prosody rather than to present it in a shapeless row of monometers. Placing bar lines regularly is true barring if the meter happens to be regular and short enough to be commensurate to the measure marked off by the bar lines ; but in the great majority of cases this can only be so if a larger measure is taken than that usually practiced. The largest part of transcribed music, especially of the 15th century, carries this simple and unfortunate defect. It is amazing that even a casual glance at the melody has not shown that in so many cases the shortest melodic meter, to have been left uncut in the middle, required at least twice the length of the measure applied. It is delinquency to think that just this — which is far from the entire thing — is not a serious matter both from the musicologist's and performer's point of view. In performance the actual and psychological interruption of the melody by bar lines written too frequently produces the pulsation, the ' beat, ' that is deplorable ; and when this ' beat ' is attended by the expressive-dynamic niceties, as it is wont to be, it turns the performance to a travesty.

From the point of view of musical research, on the other hand, we

assume that musicologists will not stand indifferent to a highly interesting side of the subject open to their investigation, and to a highly interesting side of transcribing itself ; nor that they will ignore an essential of the art and craft in the composition of the music they must study. Musicology has undertaken the identification of the larger forms, a task of no great difficulty nor requiring great insight. On the other side musicology has gone into the analysis of details and even minutia, although still partially and peripherally, and which, by the way, may have to undergo some devastating revisions if *a priori* barring was abandoned, since many details depend upon — hang from — bar lines. Anyhow, musicology has not yet taken proper note of, much less studied and analyzed, the inherent syntax or/and prosody of music — a pursuit as fascinating as it is pregnant.

Setting of the text. It is chiefly the 15th century sources and specifically those of the second half of the century that bring us the problems connected with the setting of the text, and particularly that of the ordinary of the mass. As is known, this text is often omitted or written in the manuscripts either in part or even if entire in a summary and perfunctory manner. The scribe thought it sufficient to write the first syllable of a group of words under a certain note, and this often ambiguously, leaving the rest to the singer. This sectional setting of the text is itself unreliable and often altogether wrong. And if some parts of the text is set word by word, this too is in many cases untrustworthy and with obvious errors or at least lacking in good judgment. The transcriber is here at an exacting and very delicate part of his work and is under a serious responsibility. He will produce, to mention only extremes, either a refined and fluent declamation, showing the expressiveness of the music and infinite details of art ; a declamation in each voice that does not collide but goes hand in hand with the other voices ; or he will bring forth a clumsy, awkward and even monstrous version. The young transcriber who will take the setting of the text seriously will also find that he must devote very much more time to it than to the transcribing of the music.

Again the point of view adopted by the transcriber will decide the course. In the relatively comfortable days of « scientific editions » some transcribers thought it their scientific duty to give us a documentary transcription in this respect and put the text in their transcription as they found it in the original ; or perhaps some simply took the path of least resistance. Now this is a safer thing to do than to fill in the text uncritically and without taste. But from the practical point of view such a transcription is useless. We have ways and means for satisfying all scientific and documentary urge and demand, and for showing the specialist the setting of the

text in the original. Let us leave aside academic reasoning and give our readers a singable edition. After all, even if one were to exclude the other, it would be more important that the edition be singable than merely carry a transcript of the original text.

No other part of transcribing requires greater specialized experience and demands a greater exercise of good taste. Not only precise rules are impossible beyond the elementary ones already formulated by 16th century theorists, but for a given instance there may often be a choice of several correct possibilities of setting the text. The choice is a matter of experienced and refined judgment.

Ligatures. There is not much to say about the marking of the notes of a ligature in the transcription. Ligatures, as is well known, have a connection with text-setting, demanding that only one syllable be sung to the ligature. This function, however, of the ligature is usually so obvious or so in accord with the inner laws of declamation that for most cases no experienced transcriber would do otherwise, even if the notes in question were not in a ligature. It has been observed that some ligatures may express what is known to us as a legato. (This is pointed out by Besseler in the Introduction to Tomus III [new arrangement] of Dufay's *Opera Omnia*). While the observation is true, it is not a question of another function of the ligature ; it is actually the same thing as the ligature sung to one syllable ; for in singing, a real legato can only be sounded on one or consecutive vowels. Further investigation may show us new things about ligatures, just as past observation has shown that many ligatures in the notation of the 15th and 16th centuries are entirely casual, scribal in origin and therefore meaningless for the transcription. In the light of our knowledge today there would seem little significance in marking the ligature in our transcriptions, too little to be worth the cluttered and pedantic looking page.

Such subjects as mensural signs and their translation (inferentially touched upon in the discussion of reduction and barring) proportional signs and various other technical questions or details will not be taken up here, nor do they fall within the scope of the present discussion. It is perhaps proper to say here that some of the views expressed in the present discussion may seem incompatible with some of the publications of the *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* (*CMM*). It would be very desirable that such a *corpus* carried a scientific uniformity in all matters, as in the case of the *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* (*CSM*) ; but that would be too much to expect of transcriptions of polyphony and would doubtless carry greater ill than good. The editions of *CMM* are in the hands, most of them, of established specialists. At this stage of development in

the art and science of transcription it is only possible to suggest and recommend and let the rest to the best judgment of the specialist. With the younger editors there is a somewhat different situation. At all events a very wide scope must be allowed for the editions in a *corpus* that comprises transcriptions of music of the 13th to the 16th century. The general principles and outlook propounded here would allow the scope at the same time would achieve the desirable and practicable kind of uniformity.

A. C.

THE MUSICAL NOTATION OF GUIDO OF AREZZO*

JOS. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE (*Amsterdam*)

Abbreviations :

A. F. = A. de la Fage, *Essai de Diphtérographie Musicale*, Paris 1864.
Ambros. = *secundum liturgiam Ambrosianam.*
Ant. = *Antiphonarium.*
B. = E. M. Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani*, Leipzig 1913.
Br. = A. Brandi, *Guido Aretino* (etc.), Turin 1882.
Cam. = Camaldolite(s).
CSM = *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, ed. by the American Institute of Musicology, Rome 1950 ff.
Grad. = *Graduale.*
F. = M. Falchi, *Studi su Guido Monaco*, Florence 1882.
linea = line drawn on vellum with a *stilum*, to be distinguished from the « coloured line ».
mon. = *monasticum.*
P. M. = Paléographie Musicale.
Proc. = *Processionale.*
Pros. = *Prosarium.*
S. = G. M. Suñol O.S.B., *Introduction à la Paléographie Musicale Grégorienne*, Rome 1935.
Trop. = *Troparium.*
Wa. = P. Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*, t. II, Neumenkunde, sec. ed. Leipzig 1912.
Wo. = J. Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, t. I, Leipzig 1913.

To indicate musical degrees the Guido series of letters will be used :

a ♭ ♮ c d
Γ A B C D E F G a ♭ ♮ c d e f g a ♭ ♮ c d

* *Editor's note* : The present article is a chapter from the prize essay in Latin entitled, *De musico et musico-paedogogico Guidone Aretino eiusque moribus atque vita*, written for the international contest held in Italy in 1950 on the occasion of the 9th centenary of Guido d'Arezzo's death. The prize was awarded by the unanimous vote of the jury.

The Editor, gratified that the General Editor of the *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* of the American Institute of Musicology was so honored, has pleasure in presenting this study to the readers of *Musica Disciplina*, pointing out, incidentally, that this is the first time that the Guidonian notation is presented with the stave lines in their proper colors.

Guido of Arezzo made two great contributions to the pedagogics of music : he introduced a new notation and he developed a method for learning to read the music written in this script. This double event has left its mark on the teaching of music and has divided its history into two phases : the old period, the time of neumes, vague, hazy, hard or impossible to decipher, and the *viva voce* teaching, i. e. the pupil repeating the master ; the new period with a clear-cut notation, easy to read, together with a new method for learning the *cantus ignotus* with a further view to singing *a prima vista*. We are still in the era of Guido, since apart from minor variants in notation and didactics his system has been maintained up to the present day.

Concerning the exact form of this notation of Guido's various erroneous notions are current. This is not surprising seeing that of late years a good deal of attention has been given on the one hand to the neume-notation before and after Guido but without special reference to Guido's system of lines, on the other hand to the notations in use from the 13th to the 16th century. The spread and development of Guido's notation during the 11th to the 13th century, however, has been passed over almost in silence. When passing mention was made of it, the statements were based more on Guido's own words than on the factual use of the system. The result was just a brief treatment and a dismissal of the subject with some general remarks, necessarily vague and frequently mutually incoherent. The most frequent but historically incorrect rendering of Guido's notation is : a four-line staff with a red *fa* line and a yellow or green *do* line.

The present study will be concerned with two points, Guido's exposition of his notation and its practical application in the 11th-13th century. For the first part of his task the author has had at his disposal all the Guidonian Mss that are known to exist, and for the second he has had the free use of the unique library, « la Paléographie », of the abbey of St. Pierre at Solemnes [1]. Notwithstanding this valuable help the author is well aware that the present study cannot be more than a mere contribution to the full understanding of the subject. It is the first to tackle Guido's notation directly ; it is a bit of pioneering opening a way for later exploration.

[1] I deem it a pleasant duty to give my special thanks to Dom Jacques Hourlier, Dom Eugène Cardine and Dom Michel Huglo O.S.B. for their unremitting helpfulness.

I. — What does Guido tell us about his way of setting down music? [2]

Guido's method of musical notation may be summarized in three points :

a. To guide the copyist in writing his text a line is scored in the vellum with a stilum [3] ; in a similar way equidistant parallel *lineae* are drawn. The tones of the diatonic scale are placed on the *lineae* or in the spaces (*spatium, spatia*) between them [4].

b. The fixing of the required degree is effected in one of two ways : either the tone-letter (*littera-clavis*) is placed at the beginning of the *linea* or the *spatium*, or a coloured parallel line is drawn over the *linea* or in the *spatium* [5].

c. Guido himself indicates the *do* degree by a yellow line, the *fa* degree by a red one ; these coloured lines are found on or between the *lineae* [6].

[2] Cf. *B.* XXX ; *S.* 52 ff. ; *P. M.* IX, 10* ; *P. M.* XIII, 134 ff. ; *Wa.* 278 ff. ; *Wo.* 132 ff. ; L. Balmer, *Tonsystem und Kirchentöne bei Johannes Tinctoris*, Bern-Leipzig 1935, 21 ff.

[3] This line and any other lines drawn with the *stilum* we shall call *linea, lineae*, to distinguish them from the coloured lines (yellow or red).

[4] « Ita igitur disponuntur voces, ut unusquisque sonus, quantumlibet in cantu repetatur, in uno semper et suo ordine inveniatur, Quos ordines, ut melius possis discernere, spissae ducuntur lineae, et quidam ordines vocum in ipsis fiunt lineis, quidam vero inter lineas, in medio intervallo et spatio linearum.

Quanticumque ergo soni in una linea vel in uno spatio sunt, omnes similiter sonant » (*G. S.* II, 35b).

« Causa vero breviandi neumae solent fieri,
Quae si curiosae fiant, habentur pro litteris,
Hoc si modo disponantur litterae cum lineis.
Dehinc studio crescente inter duas lineas,
Vox interponatur una, nempe quaerit ratio,
Variis ut sit in rebus varia positio » (*G. S.* II, 30).

[5] « Ut autem et illud intelligas, quantae lineae vel spatia unum habent sonum, quibuslibet lineis vel spatiis quaedam litterae de monochordo praefigurantur, atque etiam colores superducuntur : unde datur intelligi, quia in toto antiphonario et in omni cantu quantaecumque lineae vel spatia unam eamdemque habent litteram vel eumdem colorem, ita per omnia similiter sonant, tamquam si omnes in una linea fuissent, quia sicut linea unitatem sonorum, ita per omnia littera vel color unitatem significat linearum, ac per hoc etiam sonorum » (*G. S.* II, 36a).

« Ut proprietas sonorum discernatur clarius,
Quasdam lineas signamus variis coloribus :
Ut quo loco quis sit tonus, mox discernat oculus » (*G. S.* II, 30).

[6] « Duos enim colores ponimus, crocum scilicet et rubeum, per quos colores valde utilem tibi regulam trado, per quam aptissime cognosces de omni neuma et unaquaque voce, de quali tono sit, et de quali littera monochordi : si tamen, ut valde est opportunum monochordum et tonorum formulas in frequenti habeas usu » (*G. S.* II, 36a).

« Ordine tertiae vocis splendens crocus radiat,
Sexta eius sed affinis flavo rubet minio :
Est affinitas colorum reliquis indicio » (*G. S.* II 31).

From Guido's remarks on the new notation the following conclusions may be drawn :

1. Great freedom is left, freedom as regards the number of *lineae*, freedom of choice between *litterae-claves* and coloured lines, freedom as to the number of *litterae-claves*.

2. Apart from this freedom Guido's notation appears in two main forms : a. the notation as used by Guido himself, with the red *fa* line and the yellow *do* line (see under c above) ; the notation without coloured lines but with *litterae-claves* at the beginning. Henceforth the latter notation will be spoken of as the Guido notation in a wider sense, the former notation as the Guido notation in the strict sense.

3. It follows from Guido's words that two systems are possible in fixing the pitch of the lines depending on whether the key is placed on the *linea* or between two of them [7].

To make things clear two examples are subjoined of the two systems, which henceforth will be referred to as System A and System B (see fig. 1 & 2). For the sake of clarity a great number of lines are employed and a liberal use has been made of *litterae-claves*.

4. In the Guidonian notation it is of primary importance that the *fa* line and/or the *do* line should at once catch the eye. Before that time, when learning melodies by the hearing-repeating method or when recalling melodies from memory, the thing was to know the *modus* (for example the *Tonarii*). Guido dispenses with this *point d'appui* and calls to the singer's mind the two degrees *fa* and *do*, which have a *sub-semitonium*. The reasons for this choice are obvious. First of all, in the reading of melodies, and often also in the singing of melodies already known, the difference between *tonus* and *semitonium* was a frequent stumbling-block : *crux semitonii* ; in the second place, in the Gregorian neumatic and melismatic melodies *do* and *fa* are the tones and the functionally melodic supports of the most frequent occurrence [8], while those ornaments which are repetitions (*tristropha*, *bistropha*, *bivirga* etc.), preferably occur on those steps ; on the *mi* and *si* degrees, on the other hand, are

[7] This had been noted by *A. F.* 69 f. and was repeated many years later, without any reference to *A. F.*, in *P. M.* XIII, 36, and by L. Balmer, *Tonsystem und Kirchentöne bei Johannes Tinctoris*, Bern-Leipzig 1935, 31 ff.

[8] Guido repeatedly stresses the melodic superiority of these degrees, most explicitly at the close of chapter XVIII of *Micrologus* : « Cum ergo tritus adeo diaphoniae obtineat principatum, ut aptissimum supra caeteros obtineat locum, videmus a Gregorio non immerito plus caeteris vocibus adamatum. Ei enim multa melorum principia, et plurimas repercussiones dedit, ut saepe, si de eius cantu triti *F* et c subtrahas, prope medietatem tulisse videaris ».

« Tonus tertius et sextus describuntur saepius,
Quos frequenter repercussos mox cognoscit animus » (*G. S.* II, 30).

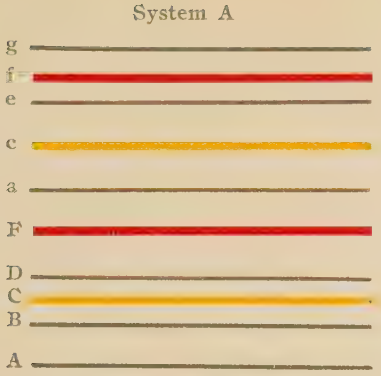


fig. 1

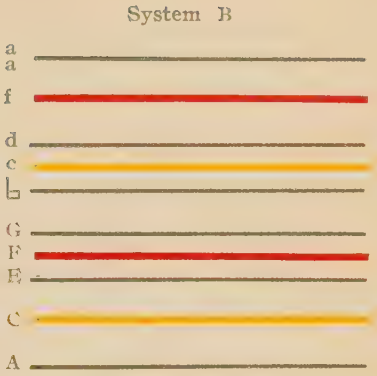


fig. 2

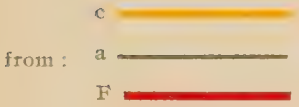


fig. 3 (syst. A)

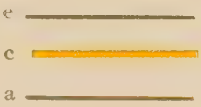


fig. 4 (syst. A)

fig. 5 (syst. A)

fig. 6 (syst. A)

fig. 7 (syst. B)

fig. 8 (syst. B)

fig. 9 (syst. A)

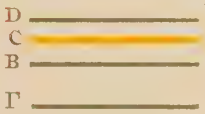


fig. 10 (syst. A)

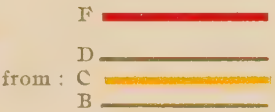


fig. 11 (syst. A)

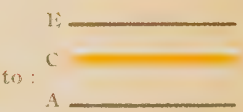
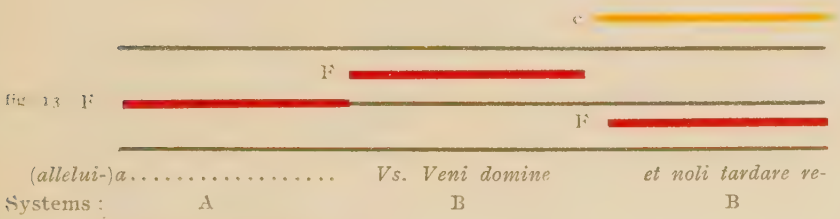


fig. 12 (syst. B)



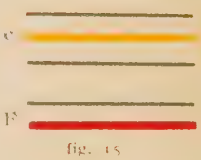


fig. 15

mostly found such transitional figures as connect those degrees with *fa* and *do* (*quilisma, pes quassus* etc.). Both the melodic functions of *do* and *fa*, and the *crux semitonii* made Guido single out these two degrees and place them in bold relief.

5. When he speaks of the notation as used by himself (the strict notation, therefore), there are no clear directions as regards the use of *litterae-claves*. In the words of his *Prologus Antiphonarii* " Quibuslibet lineae vel spatiis quaedam litterae de monochordo praefigurantur, atque etiam colores superducuntur ; unde datur intelligi, quia in toto antiphonario et in omni cantu quantaecumque lineae vel spatia unam eamdemque habent litteram vel eumdem colorem... Duos enim colores ponimus, crocum scilicet et rubeum " there would seem to be a suggestion, that the *antiphonarium* arranged by himself there were coloured lines along with *litterae-claves* ; but even if so, we cannot make out from his words how many *claves* were used and which.

On the whole it is clear from his way of writing that he left his sympathisers a large measure of freedom.

II. — The notation designed by Guido, as it was used in the 11th and 12th centuries.

To gain a clear idea of how Guido's musical notation was applied in the 11th and 12th centuries, the investigation will have to be carried along different limes. It will be necessary first to trace the diffusion of the strict notation, i. e., with two coloured lines. In the second place those Mss must be examined that use only one coloured line or none at all. The remaining variants in the new notation form a third and last batch to be considered.

A preliminary warning will not be out of place. From the fact that in a given document only one coloured line is used, it should not be inferred at once that in its place of origin the two line system is not in use. Some chants have only the red *fa* line for the simple reason that no yellow line is required ; similarly no conclusion can be drawn from a Ms of which only a fragment with such chants, and therefore with only a red line, has remained ; nor even from a complete Ms if it is an *Evangeliarium, Lectionarium* or *Orationale* with but a few chants. The melodies occurring in them are generally recitative and have a very narrow *ambitus*. A case in point is the *Orationale* of Arezzo (Bibliotheca della Fraternità di S. Maria della Misericordia [9]), which has a red *fa* line traced above some parts of the text, the writer having no use for a *do* line. Though

[9] Cf. *P. M.* II, tab. 26 ; *S.* 205 f. tab. 39.

the Ms deserves attention, it cannot claim a place in the list of Mss containing the Guido notation in the strict sense. What now follows is a first attempt to provide a survey, necessarily incomplete, of Mss containing the Guido notation in the strict sense :

A. *Mss in the so-called central Italian neume-notation (Emilia, Tuscany and Umbria).*[10]

1. Florence, Bibl. Laur. 158 (partly) s. XI Ant. Strumi near Puppium in Tuscany (of the abbey of the *Cam.* S. Fidelis) [11] cf. F. 101ss., tab. II ; *A. F.* 214 ss.

2. Florence, Bibl. Laur. 247 c. 1100 Ant. of the abbey of the *Cam.* Vallombrosana cf. *F.* 100 s.

3. Rome, Bibl. Vallicell. C. 52 c. 1100 Grad. of the abbey of St. Eustachius at Nurcia cf. *P. M.* II tab. 33 ; *P. M.* XIV see Index 471 ; *B* 136 to No. 398.

4. Rome, Bibl. Vat. Ottob. 1267 fol. 185, 186 (fly-leaf) c. 1100 Grad. cf. *B.* 134 No. 386, tab. 80a.

5. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 20, 21 c. 1100 Grad.-Trop. cf. *B*, 135, No. 388.

6. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10646 fol. 15 c. 1100 fol. (fly-leaf) Antiphonarii cf. B. 135 No. 391.

7. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10654 fol. 2, 3 c. 1100 Grad. cf. *B.* 135 No. 392.

8. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10654 fol. 4, 5, 6 c. 1100 Ant. cf. *B.* 135 No. 393.

9. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10654 fol. 10 c. 1100 Ant. monast. with tropes cf. *B.* 136 No. 396.

10. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 23a c. 1100 Grad. « ad usum

[10] This includes the so-called Italo-Beneventum notation cf. *B.* XXX, 134 ff. « Notazione Italiana transizionale » ; *P. M.* XV, 87 « notation de transition ».

[11] The abbey of Strumi (1089) was a dependency of the abbey of Vallombrosa (cf. *F.* 102). It is still uncertain whether this Ms. was written before, during or after the adaptation of the rule of St. Romualdus. *A. F.* 217 says : « ce ms. .... appartient évidemment à la seconde moitié du XI^{e} siècle ou aux premières années du XII^{e} ».

The Ms. contains two prayers « Pro Rege », on which Falchi bases his conclusion that it was written after Conrad II had died and before Henry III was crowned emperor, i. e. between 1039 and 1046. It may be questioned if this conclusion is well founded. The first prayer is one among a number of implorations (« Ut regem nostrum instruere digneris ») ; the second is one in a series of prayers « Pro omni gradu ecclesiae ». Prayers of the kind may be merely traditional and have been copied from older sources.

The first 23 folia of the Ms contain texts without neumes ; on fol. 24 to 139 is an adiastematic neume notation (see *F.* tab. I, 2) ; fol. 140r. to fol. 207 (see *F.* tab. II) have the music in the Guido notation with a red *F* line and a yellow *C* line. This Ms. is a good illustration of the evolution of the musical notation of central Italy during the 11th century.

monasterii S. Marie nove de urbe ordinis montis Oliveti » cf. *B.* 136 s. No. 398.

11. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 2139 fol. A. B. (fly-leaf) c. 1100 fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 143 No. 431.

12. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 3797 fol. 372-375 c. 1100 Officium mon. S. Silvestri and Missae S. Apollinaris cf. *B.* 143 No. 432.

13. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 10, 11 c. 1100 fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 143 s. No. 435.

14. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 12-15 c. 1100 fragm. Ant. mon. cf. *B.* 144 No. 436.

15. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 16-19 c. 1100 fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 144, No. 437.

16. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 22, 23 c. 1100 fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 144, No. 438.

17. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. grec. 1308 (fly-leaf) fol. A. B. c. 1100 fragm. Grad.-Trop. cf. *B.* 144 No. 439.

18. Toledo, Bibl. Cath. 48. 14 s. XII in. Ant. *Cam.* (written in Italy) cf. *S.* 210 s. ; Riano, *Early Spanish Music* 33.

19. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 5319 s. XII in. Grad. of the Archives of St. Peter's (in use of the church of St. John of Lat. or S. Peter) cf. *B* 136 No. 397 tab. 81 a ; *S* 211 fig. 44 ; *P. M.* II 4 ss. tab. 28 ; *P. M.* XIV see Index 471.

20. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 4320 f. 170 s. XII in. (fly-leaf) fragm. Pros. of Bologne cf. *B.* 144 No. 441.

21. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 26, 27 s. XII in. fragm. Ant. mon. cf. *B.* 145 No. 442.

22. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 40, 41 s. XII in. fragm. Ant. mon. cf. *B.* 145 No. 443.

23. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 30 s. XII in. fragm. Brev. cf. *B.* 137 No. 400.

24. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Ottob. 1970 fol. I, II (fly-leaf) s. XII in. fragm. Grad. cf. *B* 138 No. 411.

25. Modena, Bibl. Capit. O. I. 7 s. XI/XII Grad. of Ravenna (Forum Pompilii) cf. *P. M.* II 37, *P. M.* XIV see Index 470 ; Bannister, *Anglo-French Sequelae*, 98 ; E. Wellesz, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant*, 68 s., 115 s., 123 s. tab. III.

26. Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 2748 s. XI/XII Proc.-Sequent. Kyriale Brixiense.

27. Rome, Bibl. Vallicell. B. 62 s. XI/XII Ant.

28. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 7 s. XI/XII fragm. Ant. cf. *B* 135 No. 394.

29. Cortona, Bibl. publ. 12 s. XII Ant. cf. *P. M.* II tab. 33.

30. Turin, Bibl. Nat. F. IV. 18 s. XII Grad. of the abbey of Ravenna cf. *P. M.* II tab. 37 ; *P. M.* XIV see Index 472.

31. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 4750 s. XII 2/2 Proc. mon. of Ravenna (?) cf. *P. M.* I 154 tab. XXVI ; *s.* 214 fig. 44 ; *B.* 134 s. No. 387 tab. 80b.

32. Lucca, Bibl. Cap. 601 s. XII Ant. of the abbey of S. Peter (*Cam.*) Puteoli (Pozzeveri) ed. in. *P. M.* IX ; cf. *P. M.* II tab. 34 ; *P. M.* XIV see Index 470 ; *S* 212 s. fig. 43 a-b.

33. Verona, CIII s. XII fol. 142-153 Hymnarium of Verona [12].

34. Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 2493 s. XII Hymn. of Brescia.

35. Rome, Bibl. Casanat. 1740 (C. IV. I) Antiph. O.S.B. of Gaëta (partly with red line [*F*], yellow [*c*] and green [*b*]) cf. *P. M.* II tab. 29 ; *A. F.* 418 ss. ; Br. 348 ss.

36. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 33a s. XII fragm. Brev. cf. *B.* 137 No. 401.

37. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 14 s. XII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 137 No. 405.

38. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Lainz VIII, 170 s. XII Grad.

39. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10654 fol. 16, 17 fragm. Grad. Trop. cf. *B.* 137 No. 407.

40. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10654 fol. 24-26 fragm. Miss. plen. cf. *B.* 138 No. 409.

41. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10654 fol. 27 s. XII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 138 No. 410.

42. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 7818 s. XII Pontificale Rom. in use of the dioc. of Chiëta cf. *B.* 138 No. 413 tab. 82a.

43. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 42, 43 s. XII fragm. Pros. cf. *B.* 145 No. 444.

44. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 51, 52 s. XII fragm. Grad. Trop. cf. *B.* 145 No. 446.

45. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 420 fol. 132 XII fragm. Brev. cf. *B.* 145 No. 451 tab. 91.

46. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 638 fol. 172r. s. XII « Iudicii signum » cf. *B.* 146 No. 452.

47. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 3840 fol. 37 s. XII fragm. Ant. cf. 146 f. No. 455.

48. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 34, 35 s. XII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 147 No. 461.

49. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 36, 37 s. XII fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 147 No. 462.

50. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 38 s. XII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 147 No. 464.

51. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 39 s. XII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 147 No. 465.

52. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10646 fol. 20-23 s. XII fragm. Collectarii cf. *B.* 147 No. 466.

53. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Barber. 663 s. XII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 147 No. 468.

54. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. 1702 fol. I, 95, 96 (fly-leaf) s. XII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 148 No. 469.

55. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Stamp. Ald. I, 23 fol. A, Z (fly-leaf) s. XII fragm. Brev. cf. *B.* 148 No. 470.

56. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 48-50 s. XII med. fragm. Ant. mon. cf. *B.* 138.

[12] In fact three *hymnaria*, the first with one coloured line, the second with two and the third with one coloured line (communication of Dom J. Hourlier O.S.B. of Solemnes). Cf. M. L. Giuliano, *Cultura e attività calligrafica nel secolo XII a Verona* (Padova, Milani, 1933).

57. Parkminster A-33 s. XII Grad. carthus. cf. *Wa.* (see Index XII) tab. 309; *P. M.* I 142 f. tab. XII, XIV see Index 471.

58. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. Acq. lat. 1669 s. XII ex. Grad. of the dioc. of Gubbio cf. *P. M.* II tab. 31; *P. M.* XIV (see Index 471).

59. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 650 s. XII ex. fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 146 No. 453.

60. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 44, 45 (fly-leaf) s. XII ex. fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 148 No. 472.

61. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10646 fol. 28 s. XII ex. fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 148 No. 475.

62. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Ottob. 154 fol. 113 ca. 1200 fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 148 No. 476.

63. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 28, 29 s. XIII in. fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 137 No. 399.

64. Modena, Bibl. Cap. O. I. 16 s. XIII «Liber Cantus» cf. *P. M.* II tab. 36.

65. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 3169 s. XIII fragm. Brev. cf. *B.* 149 No. 487.

66. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 5644 fol. 16v. s. XIII 3 ant. Marianae cf. *B.* 149 No. 489.

67. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 6018 fol. 130, 131 s. XIII fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 150 No. 490.

68. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Borgian. 405 s. XIII Brev. O.F.M. cf. *B.* 139 No. 416.

69. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 7126 s. XIII Part of a Brev. of a mon. of Naples or Spoleto. cf. *B.* 140 No. 416 tab. 84b.

70. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 3061 fol. a, b, 158, 159 (fly-leaf) s. XIII fragm. Grad.-Pros. cf. *B.* 140 No. 419.

71. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 7645 fol. 1 (fly-leaf) s. XIII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 140 No. 420.

72. Monza, Bibl. Cap. C. 14.77 s. XIII Grad. (Frisi XCVI) cf. P. M. II tab. 40 (v. consp.) 470.

73. Munich, Bibl. monast. O.F.M. c. 1230 *Ant. sec. consuetud. curiae Romanae* cf. *Wa* 305 ff. tab. 306.

74. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Barber. 549 s. XIII Pontific. Rom. verisim. scr. Romae cf. *B.* 140 No. 421.

75. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Barber. 4047 fol. 141v. s. XIII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 140 No. 423.

76. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Regin. 2050 s. XIII/XIV Brev. O.F.M. (with black and red lines, sometimes with a yellow line) cf. *B.* 141 No. 426 tab. 86b.

77. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 4749 c. 1300 Ant. O.S.B. of Sicily cf. *B.* 142 No. 427 tab. 87.

78. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Barber. Stamp. Y.V. 8 (fly-leaf) c. 1300 fragm. Brev. cf. *B* 142 No. 428.

79. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 9822 fol. 54, 55 (fly-leaf) c. 1300 fragm. Ant. cf. B. 150 No. 501a.

80. Toledo, Bibl. Cath. 39, 20 s. XIV Ritual of Perugia cf. Riano, *Early Spanish Music* 53.

81. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10654 fol. 22 s. XIV fragm. Grad. cf. *B* 142 No. 429.

82. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10654 fol. 23 s. XIV fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 142 No. 429a.

83. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Barber. 530 fol. 150v.-165v. s. XIV Brev. Rom. cf. *B* 142 No. 429.

84. Toledo, Bibl. Cap. 52.11 s. XIV Grad. (of Arezzo?) cf. *P. M.* XIV (see Index 472) cf. Riano, *Early Spanish Music* 54.

B. *The neume-notation of Bologna.*

85. Modena, Bibl. Cap. O. I. 13 s. XI Graduale of the region of Emilia cf. *S* 203; *P. M.* XIV (see Index 470).

C. *The neume-notation of Milan.*

86. London, Brit. Mus. Add. 34209 s. XII Ant. and Grad. Ambros. published in *P. M.* V and VI; cf. *P. M.* XIV (see Index) 470.

87. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 58v. s. XII fragm. Manualis Ambros. cf. *B* 145 No. 447 tab. 90b [13].

88. Bedero Val Travoglia A. s. XII Ant. Ambros. cf. Ambrosius X (1934) 48 tab. *B*, 2.

89. Milano, Bibl. Cap. F. 2.2 (194) s. XII Ant. Ambros. cf. Ambrosius X (1934) 48 tab. *B*, 3.

90. Varese, (Bianchi) s. XII Ant. Ambros. cf. Ambrosius X (1934) 48 tab. *B*, 4.

91. Vimercate s. XIII Ant. Ambros. cf. Ambrosius X (1934) tab. C.

92. Muggiasca, s. XIV Ant. Ambros. cf. Ambrosius X (1934) tab. *D*, 1.

D. *The neume-notation of Benevento.*

93. Benevento, Bibl. Cap. VI. 34 c. 1100 Grad. - Pros. - Trop. ed. in *P. M.* XV; cf. *P. M.* XIV (see Index) 469 tab. XXV; *P. M.* XV 53 No. 11.

94. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Regin. 334 c. 1100 Proc. of Sora cf. *B.* 126 No. 364 tab. 73a; *P. M.* XV 68 No. 796; *Wa* 301 f. with tab.

95. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 6082 c. 1145 Missale plen. benedictin. written in the abbey of Monte Cassino cf. *B.* 129 f. No. 374 tab. 75b; *P. M.* XIV 218, 471; *P. M.* XV 63 No. 77.

96. Naples, Bibl. Nat. VII.G.7 (fly-leaf) fragm. Ant. s. XII cf. *P. M.* XV 79 No. 140.

97. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. 178 fol. 57-100 c. 1200 Proc. cf. *B.* 133 No. 377; *P. M.* XV 68 No. 96.

98. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 7231 s. XIII in. Missale plen. written in a monastery for use at a secular church cf. *B.* 132 No. 374, 183 No. 694 tab. 78b; *P. M.* XV 63 No. 78.

99. Monte Cassino, 546 c. 1200 Grad. cf. *P. M.* II tab. 22; XIV 217, 270; XV 57 No. 43; *S* 226 fig. 48; Ferretti, I Manoscritti musicali gregoriani dell'archivio di Monte Cassino (*Casinensia* 1929) 199 f.

[13] No. 87-92 communication of Dom Michel Huglo of the abbey of St. Pierre at Solesmes.

100. Oxford, Bibl. Bodl. Can. lit. 342 s. XIII Miss. plen. written at Ragusa cf. *P. M.* XIV (see Index) 471 ; XV 59 No. 60.

101. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10504 (fly-leaf) fol. I, Ia, 74, 75 s. XIII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 133 No. 379 ; *P. M.* XV, 64 No. 80.

102. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 68 s. XIII fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 134 f. No. 384 ; *P. M.* XV 65 No. 81.

E. *The neume-notation of Nonantola.*

103. Rome, Bibl. Casanat. 1741 (C. IV. 2) s. XI ex. Trop.-Pros. Nonantul. cf. *Br.* 345 ff. tab. ; *P. M.* II tab. 18 ; XIV 278.

104. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Em. (Sessor. 62) 1343 s. XI/XII Grad.

105. Nonantola (altar treasure) s. XII Cantat. cf. *P. M.* II tab. 15, 16.

106. Nonantola (altar treasure) s. XII Orat. cf. *P. M.* II tab. 17.

F. *The neume-notation of Metz.*

107. Graz, Bibl. Univ. 807 s. XII Grad. of Klosterneuburg cf. *P. M.* XIV (see Index) 470 ; *Wa.* 323 f.

108. Ghent, Bibl. Univ. 488 (S. G. 156) s. XII ex. Grad. of the church of S. Bavo (with yellow *c* line, red *F* line ; other lines green colour) cf. *P. M.* III tab. 166.

109. Berlin, Bibl. Publ. (Staatsbibl.) theol. lat. fol. 276 s. XII fragm. Grad. (with coloured lines as No. 108).

110. Paris, Bibl. Nat., N. Acq. 1414 s. XII Grad. Cist. of the abbey of S. Marie de Morimond cf. *P. M.* II tab. 39.

111. Paris, Bibl. Nat., N. Acq. 1410, 1412 s. XII Ant. Cist. of the abbey of S. Marie de Morimond.

112. Paris, Bibl. Nat., N. Acq. 1411, s. XII Ant. Cist. of the abbey of S. Marie de Morimond.

113. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. M. 70 sup. s. XIII Grad. Carthus (2 notations) cf. *P. M.* II tab. 41.

114. Trier, eccl. cath. 153 F. s. XIII/XIV Missale plenarium written at Hildesheim cf. *Wa.* 325 f. (with pl.).

G. *The neume-notation of Aquitania.*

115. Hautecombe, (Savoie) Bibl. abb. S. Magd. s. XII Grad. of Arles cf. *P. M.* III tab. 90, 91.

116. Brussels, Bibl. Reg., F. Fétis 1172 s. XII Grad. Cluniac. cf. *P. M.* III tab. 92, 93 XIV (see Index) 469.

117. Marseilles, Bibl. Publ. E. B. 316 s. XII Grad. Carthus. cf. *P. M.* III tab. 95.

118. Apt, Arch. Bas. S. Annae I s. XII-XIII Grad. cf. *P. M.* III tab. 96.

119. Marseille, Bibl. Publ. 150 s. XII Grad. Carthus.

120. Nîmes, Bibl. Publ. 4 s. XII Grad. of Valence (in France) or Montpellier.

121. Grande Chartreuse, 801 s. XIII Two Graduals.

H. *The neume-notation of central and northern France* [14].

122. Paris, Bibl. Nat., N. Acq. 1235 s. XII Grad. of Nevers cf. *P. M.* III tab. 195.

123. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 10511 s. XII Grad. cf. *P. M.* III tab. 198.

124. Paris, Bibl. Nat., N. Acq. 1236 s. XII Ant. of Nevers.

K. *The square notation in England, France and Italy.*
(Some Mss of the transition period)

125. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Regin. 1196 fol. 21v.-22v., 28v., 30r., 33r.-34r., 37v.-39v., s. XII, examples in the treatise of John of Affligem (published in *C. S. M.* I) cf. *B.* 62 No. 189 tab. 31c. ; 164 No. 548 ; *C. S. M.* I tab. I ; *Br.* 34 ff. ; *A. F.* 483.

126. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 4756 fol. 109v. s. XII ex. fragm. Brev. of Chartres (with green *F* line and yellow *c* line) cf. *B.* 155 No. 518 tab. 97a.

127. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. 562 fol. 147 and Pal. 559 fol. A s. XII ex. 2 folia Ant. Cist. cf. *B.* 154 No. 507, 508, tab. 96.

128. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 6831 s. XIII ex. Pontif. Rom. cf. *B.* 157 No. 523a.

129. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Regin. 546 fol. I, II, 283, 284 s. XII/XIII fragm. Grad. of Auxerre, cf. *B.* 161 No. 540 tab. 104.

130. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Barb. 511 fol. 170, 171 (fly-leaf) c. 1200 fragm. Grad. Carthus. cf. *B.* 161 No. 541 tab. 105a.

131. Rome, Bibl. Vat. 3547 fol. 78r. (in the margin) s. XIII in. « Gloria in excelsis Deo » ms. of Barcelona cf. *B.* 162 No. 543 tab. 106a.

132. Chartres, Bibl. Publ. 520 (222) s. XIII Missale plen. (with yellow *c* line, green *F* line) possession of the chapel of the Ss. Sergius, Bacheus and S. Nicolaus at Chartres cf. *P. M.* I 158 tab. XXX.

133. Milan, Bibl. Ambr. S. 74 sup. s. XIII Grad. cf. *P. M.* II tab. 46 ; XIV (see Index) 470.

134. Naples, Bibl. Nat. VI. E. II s. XIII Grad. Carthus. of Padula cf. *P. M.* II tab. 47.

135. Berlin, (Staatsbibl.) mus. ms. Z 48 s. XIII Missale plen. cf. *Wo* 129 f.

136. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Regin. 125 fol. 1-6 c. 1300 « Missa in die sancte heucharistie » cf. *B.* 157 No. 524.

137. Chartres, Bibl. Publ. 529 (428) 1313-1325 Missal of the church of S. John of the order of the Augustinians (St-Jean-en-Vallée-lez-Chartres) (with yellow *c* line and green *F* line) cf. *P. M.* I 158 f. tab. XXXI.

[14] In the catalogue « La Musique française du Moyen-Age à la Révolution » (éditions des bibl. nationales de France, 1934), p. 12, No. 30, the notation of Ms Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 12094, derived from St. Maur des Fossés, is described as « notation guidonienne sur portée, en plusieurs couleurs ». The Ms has in fact a musical notation on four black lines ; the *litterae-claves* are *D, F, c, e*. Cf. *Wa.* 289.

138. Monza, Bibl. Cap. K. 11 s. XIV Grad. Monzan. cf. *P. M.* II, tab. 48.

139. Paris, Bibl. Nat., N. Acq. lat. 1413 s. XIV Grad. Cist. « S. Mariae Clarevallis de Mediolano » cf. *P. M.* II tab. 49.

L. *The Gothic notation, also called « Hufnagelschrift ».*
(Some Mss of the transition period)

140. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 fol. 72, 73, 73a, 73b, 74-79 s. XII ½ fragm. Grad. of the part of Liége cf. *B* 167 No. 564 tab. 113.

141. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10646 fol. 33, 34 s. XII/XIII fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 169 No. 569.

142. Karlsruhe, Cod. LX Aug. fol. 2v.-227v., 233-264v., 272v. s. XII ex. Ant. of Reichenau cf. K. Hahn, *Ein Musikalischer Palimpsest*, Freiburg i. Sw. 1925 ; W. Brambach, *Die Reichenauer Sängerschule*, Leipzig 1888, 33-37.

143. Trier, Bibl. Cap. 2254 cod. Bohn s. XIII Grad. cf. *Wa.* (v. consp. XII) tab. 332.

144. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1414 s. XIII Grad. Cist. S. Mariae « de Morimond » dioc. of Milan cf. *P. M.* II tab. 39.

145. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Incun. IV 414 (fly-leaf) s. XIII fol. ex Ant. cf. *B.* 170 No. 572.

146. London, Brit. Mus. Add. 27921 s. XIII Grad. Germ. cf. *P. M.* III tab. 136.

147. Wurtemberg, Arch. Eccl. s. XIII Missale plen. cf. *P. M.* III tab. 137 ; XIV (see Index) 472.

148. Trier, Bibl. Cath. 173 F. c. 1300 Ant. cf. *Wa.* 336 f. tab. 337.

149. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Stamp. IV 1008 (fly-leaf) c. 1300 fragm. Brev. cf. *B.* 170 No. 574.

150. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Stamp. V 340 (fly-leaf) s. XIII/XIV fragm. Grad. of Basel (?) cf. *B.* 170 No. 575.

151. Rome, Bibl. Angel. 1436 (T. 8. 8) s. XIV Grad. Bamberg cf. *P. M.* III tab. 140 ; XIV (see Index) 470.

152. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Stamp. IV 692 (fly-leaf) s. XIV fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 170 No. 581.

153. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Stamp. IV 1866 (fly-leaf) s. XIV fragm. Brev. cf. *B.* 171 No. 587.

154. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Stamp. V 781 (fly-leaf) s. XIV/XV fragm. Brev. cf. *B.* 174 No. 599.

155. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Barber. Stamp. R VIII. 20 (fly-leaf) s. XIV/XV fragm. Miss. plen. cf. *B.* 174 No. 601.

156. Karlsruhe, Bibl. Region. Pm. 16 s. XIV/XV Grad. written in the mon. of S. Peter at Baden *Wa.* 136 ff., 338 ff. tab. 339.

157. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10646 fol. 41, 42 s. XV fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 174 No. 606.

158. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10647 (fly-leaf) s. XV fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 174 No. 608.

159. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Stamp. IV 900 (fly-leaf) s. XV fragm. Grad. cf. *B.* 175 No. 614.

160. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Barber. Stamp. G. II 87 (fly-leaf) s. XVI fragm. Ant. cf. *B.* 176 No. 633.

M. *Addenda.*

161. Berlin, (Staatsbibl.) mus. ms. Z. 78 s. XII cf. *Wo* 136 (with yellow *c* line, red *F* line, the rest green).

162. Berlin, (Staatsbibl.) mus. ms. Z. 80 and 81 1500-1510 written in the sacristy of the church of Genrode cf. *Wo.* 136 (with coloured lines like No. 161).

163. Cologne, s. XV of the monast. of S. Barbara Col. cf. *Wo* 136.

164. Prague, Bibl. Univ. XIV G. 46 cf. *Wo* 137 n. 1.

165. Berlin, (Staatsbibl.) mus. ms. access. lat. 699 in 1436 written in the abbey of S. Peter of Erfurt (with coloured lines as No. 161) cf. *Wo.* 136.

166. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 12272 (fly-leaf) s. XII.

167. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3778 s. XI Officium S. Mauri (with red *F* line, green *a* line and yellow *c* line).

168. Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 221 s. XV Ordo Missae Ambrosianae.

169. Karlsruhe, Cod. Pm 15 s. XV cf. *Wa.* 290 n.

170. Graz, Bibl. Un. 1471 s. XV cf. *Wa.* 290 n.

An examination of the Mss bearing the Guidonian notation either in the wide or in the narrow sense, suggests various conclusions, which may be divided into findings touching the application of Guido's ideas in general, and findings concerning some detail or particular aspect of the Guido notation. Here follow some conclusions of the first kind :

1. As early as the 11th and 12th centuries Guido's ideas were adopted and put into practice far and wide. While the Survey of Mss clearly marks the wide extent of territory in which the *strict* Guido notation found sympathisers during the 11th and 12th centuries, it shows with equal clearness that the earliest and most intensive cultivators of the new system are established at a geographical centre, namely in northern and central Italy, or to be quite precise, the territories of Tuscany, Emilia and Umbria.

2. In the Mss in either notation there appears a great freedom in the application of Guido's method, not only in everything that concerns the coloured or uncoloured lines, but also in the choice of the *litterae-claves* and in the use of the *custos.* This freedom in the application can be illustrated from one and the same writer, even from one and the same page of a Ms.

It may be stated in general and will later be shown more in detail that the notation of the 11th and 12th centuries makes greater use of the freedom allowed them than is done in the subsequent period. When therefore it has been established that Guido clearly enunciated the principles of a new notation, but allows writers great freedom in their application, the Mss of the 11th and 12th centuries give

convincing proof of uniformity in principle, together with diversity in the application of these principles.

3. In direct connexion with what precedes, the following should be noted : the fixing of the pitch of the lines is made to depend on the *ambitus* of the melody to be notated, not the reverse ; i. e., the melody is not transposed to get an easier notation or in order to maintain in the course of the chant a certain pitch, chosen at the beginning of the piece.

Apart from transposing to avoid rises and falls (except *b*-flat), it is very improbable that for the above-mentioned reason a melody was written out transposed.

As a rule *F* and *c* are top or bottom line, though *a* is also used for either of them. The writers of the 11th and 12th centuries, however, often use lower degrees than *F* for the bottom line ; rarely a higher tone than *c* (*viz. e*) for the top line. In those centuries also they more easily change the pitch of the lines in one and the same line of text, not only in different chants on that line but in the same chant, and even in the same melody.

4. The *lineae* of a Ms and the line for the text were scored in the vellum with a *stilum* ; they were straight lines and perfectly parallel ; the *spatia inter lineas*, however, were sometimes of unequal width. In contrast with this, during the 11th and 12th centuries (less so during the 13th) the coloured lines came to be drawn simply by hand without any support or guide ; the inevitable consequence was that the lines frequently became irregular and that the paleographer, wishing to make out for example the use of system A or B, often finds it difficult to settle whether the line he is studying is meant to lie on or between the *lineae*.

A. *About the use of systems A and B.*

Guido's directions concerning his notation allow writers to follow either system A or system B. The great majority employ only system A and from the 12th century onward this is in general use. A good many Mss of the 11th and 12th centuries try a combination of the two systems, not, however, quite arbitrarily. When the melody moves in the middle scale (*D-e*) they employ system A. When it descends and proceeds in the situation Γ-*D*, sometimes system A is used, at other times system B ; the same is done when a melody or melodic part rises and proceeds at a higher level, c–$\frac{a}{a}$. When such a writer has to notate a high and still rising melody he chooses one of the ways in fig. 3-5 (keeping to system A) or in fig. 6-8 (changing from A to B) [15].

[15] *Mutatis mutandis* the same thing is done when the lowest line represents *D*.

Fig. 9 and 10 (keeping to system A) and 11, 12 (passing from A to B) represent two possibilities for a melody lying at a low level and descending still lower [16].

A clear instance of a change of system, easily accessible to the reader, is found in cod. Beneventum Bibl. Cap. VI. 34, published in *P. M.* XV. The writer uses as *litterae-claves* Γ, *C*, *D*, *F*, *a*, *c*, *f* [17] and generally follows system A.

The figures 13 (*ibid.* fol. 112 r.) and 14 (fol. 34 v.) are a case of change of system in one line of text. For the next three lines of text in fig. 14 the writer changes to system B (see fig. 15) to return later to system A.

For the preference for the A system which was prominent from the beginning and became universal and definitive later, the following reasons can be adduced.

The first may be sought in Guido's own example : in his notation of chants he followed system A. A more fundamental cause may be sought in the pedagogical purpose of his notation and in a consideration of a mere practical nature. The object that Guido envisaged before everything else was to bring out the sub-semitonal degrees *fa* and *do* (see above p. 18). The considerations of a mere practical nature would naturally be suggested by the *ambitus* of tones, within which the majority of Gregorian melodies moved. This may require some elucidation.

The *ambitus* of these melodies is defined by the tones *C* and *e*, the normal reach of the *modi* I, III, IV, V, VI, VIII. Calling for a moment the *fa* and *do* lines the central lines of the notation, then within the most frequently occurring ambitus it is not the lines meant for *C* or *f*, but those meant for *F* and *c* which should be called the central lines. If then *F* and *c* are the central lines *par excellence*, it follows that in case only *lineae* were used, these *lineae* were given the pitch of *F* and/or *c* ; in case coloured lines were used there was moreover this consideration that it was far easier to draw the coloured *F* and *c* lines with a free hand *on* the lines of the vellum traced by *stilum* than *in spatio* between the *lineae*. This implies the use of system A ; in the case of uncoloured *lineae* this would demand the placing of the *F* and/or *c* clefs before the *lineae*, not *in spatio*. It will thus be apparent that for the melodies lying within the *ambitus* of *C* to *e* the use of system A was almost a matter of course.

The *litterae-claves* of these figures are not taken from some Ms ; motives of clearness have settled the choice.

[16] *Mut. mut.* the same is done, when the highest line represents *a*.

[17] The commonest clef-letters in this Ms are *F* and *c*. In the part of this Ms that has already been published in *P. M.* XV, Γ is found on fol. 24v., 126r., 129v. ; *D* on fol. 93v., 122., 129. ; *a* on fol. 34v., 153r.v. Other examples of change of system are to be found on fol. 45r. (lines 2 and 3), 76v. (line 1) ; of the use of system B on fol. 112r. (line 9), 122v. (line 1), 175r. (lines 6-10).

For melodies moving above or below this level the situation was different ; for this would lead to placing the coloured lines (i. e. *F* and *C*) *on* the *linea*, which was a change-over to system B. The drawback was that the change of system caused the red or yellow *F* or *c* line first to be seen *on* the *linea*, and then suddenly between two *lineae* [18]. With notations, therefore, that were exceptionally high or low, there were reasons both for continuing the initial system A and for changing it. Hence in the early period both methods find favour, the followers of the first being the majority. From the 13th century onward, system A is exclusively used. But during that time the use of at least four lines has also won its way, these being sufficient for the whole *ambitus* of Gregorian melodies from Γ to $\frac{a}{a}$. The writing of the *litterae-claves* meanwhile being more and more restricted to the clefs *F* and *c*.

The use of coloured lines died out within two centuries. With all these trends we need not be surprised that from the 13th century onward a four line staff (red or black) was uniformly established and that system A was exclusively used. The foregoing discussion on the use of systems A and B may lead us to ask : Is the notation designed by Guido to be called a brilliant invention and what has been its influence as regards modern musical notation? The most fundamental and original feature in Guidonian notation is, not the use of coloured lines, which are not essential and may or may not be used, but, as rightly remarked by P. Wagner [19], the system of lines regularly constructed in thirds, with system A as its basis. On comparing this principle of Guido's with the principle that is fundamental to the present-day notation, the perfect unity of the two is evident, notwithstanding the variations that have occurred in the course of nine centuries (see fig. p. 32). This example proves that in designing his new notation Guido was centuries ahead of his time, notwithstanding his personal preference for the *fa* and *do* lines, which prompted him to drop the *mi* and *si* lines between *A* and *C*, *d* and *f* ; notwithstanding, also, the further evolution of music in manifestations never dreamt of in his time. With regard

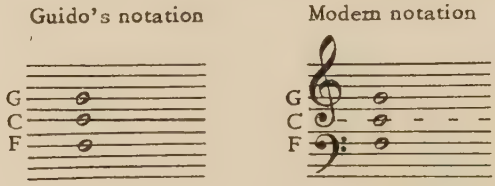
[18] The following example shows that the carrying through of system A at higher levels had its difficulties. In the last line of fol. 163r. of cod. Verona (12th cent. in.) the Communio « Ego sum » begins on *a*-⊔; before the *a* line there is the *littera-clavis a* and above it is *b*. The writer wanted to notate the subsequent words in the upper fourth according to system A. He places *clavis f in spatio*, but forgets to draw the red *fa* line *in spatio* ; it lies on the *e* line. Above the next line of text he mends the slip and draws the *f* line *in spatio*.

[19] *Wa.* 281 : « Terzenweiser Aufbau des Liniensystems, Vierzahl der Linien (wrongly interpreted by Wagner as « Guido notation »), Buchstabenschlüssel oder Färbung der Linien, diese Elemente zusammengenommen bedeuten die Vollendung der Diastematie und die endgültige Herstellung einer befriedigenden liturgischen Tonschrift ».

to the past his design meant a complete break with the further evolution of the neume script, which tended more and more in the direction of a more and more accurate diastematic notation of the neumes. Would it be too much, then, to apply the word genius to the creator of this design, who advocated it as a principle while leaving a large margin of freedom in its application ?

Of the minor points of the notation many have weathered the centuries and are still alive, such as the *litterae-claves*, which continue their stylized existence as clefs. Modern Gregorian notation still uses movable *F* and *c* clefs, as did the polyphonic music of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and of the Baroque era. In our own time the *c* clef is still used for certain instruments and voices. The « modern » *G* clef is not modern, for it is found as *littera-clavis* together with the Guidonian notation in the Mss of the 11th and 12th centuries.

We may add that as late as the 13th century the place of the *F*, *c* and *g* clefs had not been uniformly fixed, this being in accordance with the freedom allowed by Guido ; it was not till the 19th century that a definite location for the *F* and *g* clefs was adopted.



B. *Litterae-claves and custos.*

The free application advocated by Guido of his notation is made manifest in the varying use of the two systems A and B, and the irregular employment of three or four lines ; it is even more apparent in the use of the *litterae-claves*, and again it is especially the Mss of the 11th and 12th centuries that furnish the evidence.

In the use of the *litterae-claves* there are two lines of development : either the choice is based on Guido's personal method of notation, which gave priority to the *F* and *c* clefs, or the writer avails himself of the freedom allowed by Guido « quibuslibet lineis vel spatiis quaedam litterae de monochordo praefigurantur ». The Mss of the earlier period very clearly demonstrate a preference for the first line, the priority of the *litterae F* and *c* ; *F* is hardly ever lacking in any Ms, *c* rarely, while a large number of Mss (with yellow and red lines) have these two letters and exclude all others. In its further development musical notation has found this usage quite congenial, so much so that the use of these two clefs came to be general and has

remained so for some centuries, with their place on the lines varying for various melodies, in conformity with Guido's intention. Only the *g* clef has been added to them. When one considers that Guido had a special purpose in view with the *F* and *c* clefs, and yet the succeeding centuries went on using those clefs without awareness of the purpose and out of mere routine, one sees how deep-rooted the custom has been and how remarkable the formation of a fresh tradition. For Guido the difficulty in propagating his new notation was the greater because by its practice he also broke with the existing methods of learning to sing.

There are also a great number of Mss of the first period testifying to the second standpoint and therefore to the freedom in the choice of the *litterae-claves*. Nearly all *litterae-monochordi* function as *litterae-claves* : Γ, *B*, *C*, *D*, *F*, *a*, ♭, ♮, *c*, *e*, *f*, *g* but with widely varying frequency. A list here of Mss with the respective *litterae* in them is not desirable. A writer commonly makes regular use of three or more letters and for some very exceptional situation he employs another one ; a list of the kind would therefore create a wrong impression. It seems more important to state the following conclusions :

1. Guido's pedagogic motive to make the *fa* line and *do* line conspicuous favours the litterae *C*, *F*, *c*, *f* ; after what has been said above, the fact that *F* and *c* have the lion's share, does not call for explanation.

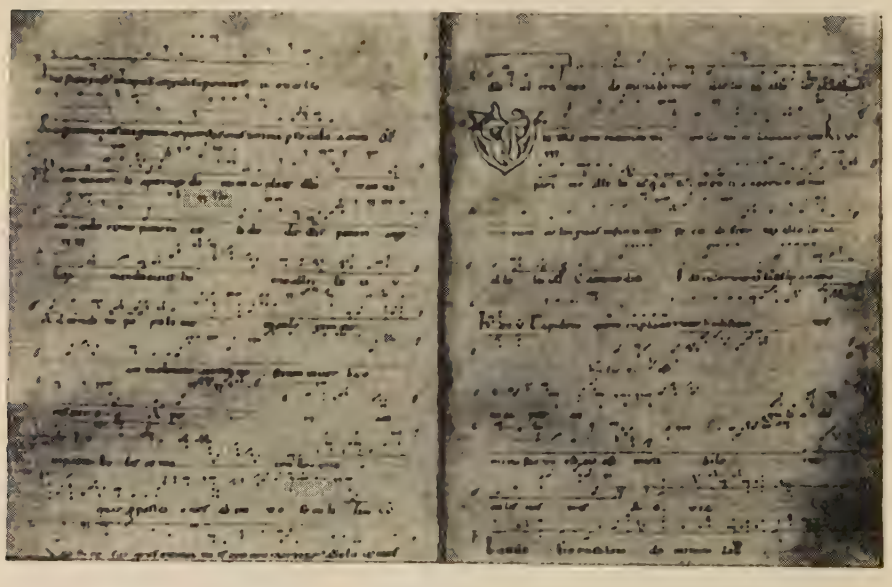
2. Since the Guidonian notation is based principally on system A, the *claves* proper to the lines of this system are used (Γ, *B*, *C*, *D*, *F*, *a*, *c*, *e*, *f*, *g*), not the letters belonging to its *spatia*. The use of the latter is highly exceptional and is only found in writing melodies at a higher or a lower level.

The above is clearly borne out by the Mss. When the letters are arranged in the order of descending frequency in the Mss, the following list will result :

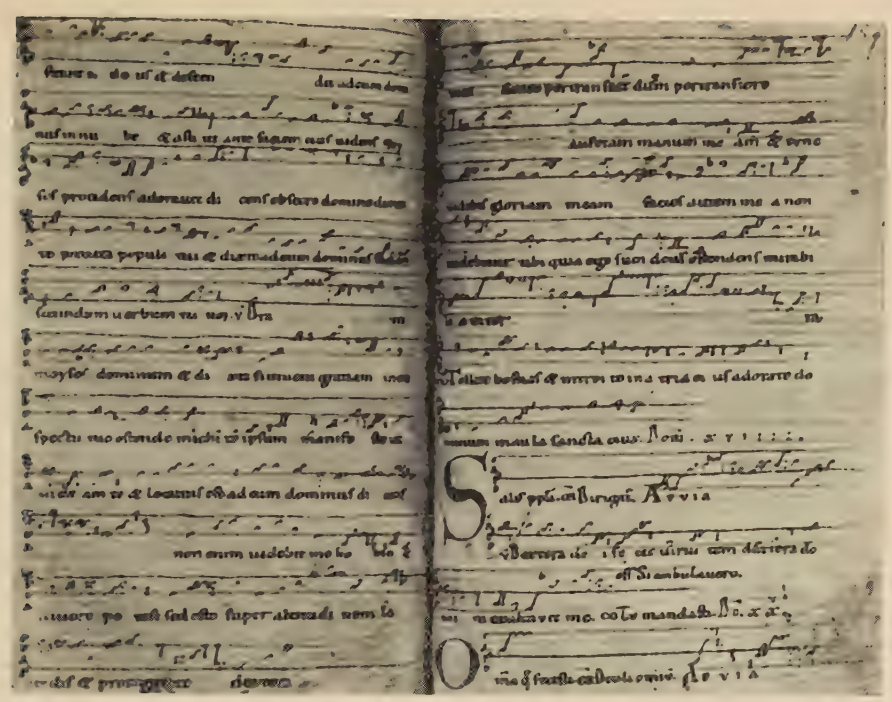
1. F	5. D	9. Γ
2. c	6. a	10. B
3. f	7. g	11. ♭ ♮
4. C	8. e	

Most of the writers systematically place not more than one or two letters at the beginning of the staff, letters chosen from a group of two, three, four, occasionally more *litterae-claves*, and the choice depending on the pitch of the melody. When one letter is used throughout at the beginning of the line of text, it is generally either the one that occurs most in that line, or the one that has the middle pitch of the melody (cf. Pl. a, cod. Toledo Cap. 48. 14). The

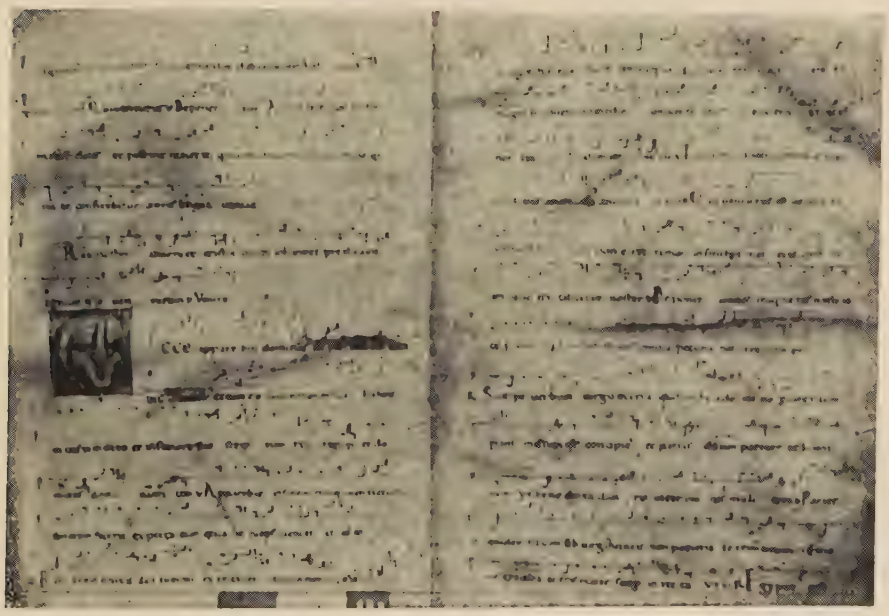
Pl. a. Toledo, Bibl. Cap. 48. 14 fol. 8v., 9r.



Pl. b. Modena, Bibl. Cap. O. I. 7 fol. 113v., 114r.



Pl. c. Graz, Un. Bibl. 807 fol. 158r, 159r



Pl. d. Bologna, Un. Bibl. 2493 p. 150, 151.

choice of the letter decided by the initial tone of the line, as in cod. Modena Bibl. Cap. O. I. 7 (cf. Pl. b), is exceptional.

The writer has not come across an instance where each line and each *spatium* bears a letter before it ; but there are cases where this occurs with each line.

We shall not go into details of the historical development of the *form* of the *litterae-claves*. In passing, however, I may point out a characteristic example of the stylizing of the *F-clavis* in an early stage in Ms Bologna 2493. On fol. 150 (see Pl. d.) one can easily distinguish the twofold way of writing *F* : one in which the *c* is first written, to which a *virga* is then prefixed (also clearly seen on fol. 151) ; the other, in which the *virga* is first put down, to which the *c* or the upper and lower halves of *c* are then added (see last line but one of fol. 150). It is this last form that has been developed into the Gothic *F* clef (cf. the modern Gregorian notation) and the *F-clavis* still in use.

Also the use and form of the *custos* cannot be given more than a passing note. It is in general use in the Italian and southern French Mss during the 11th and 12th centuries ; its form varies greatly. It is frequently absent from northern French and German Mss, also in subsequent centuries.

C. *Reconstruction of the Guido notation as used by himself.*

The authentic Antiphonary written by Guido has been sought for in vain, and may be considered lost. A reconstruction of Guido's personal form of notation will have to be attempted indirectly.

Guido got his schooling in the great and flourishing abbey of Pomposa [20], situated near Ferrara and not far from Ravenna, at that time still an important cultural centre, with which both Pomposa and Arezzo were in close cultural contact [21].

From Pomposa, where Guido conceived his revolutionary ideas about musical notation, he moved to Arezzo, where he found the suitable environment for propagating his new notation. During this period he had Pope John XIX admiring « *nostrum antiphonarium* », which he must have written at Arezzo [22].

[20] The proposition that Guido was educated at the abbey of St. Maur des Fossés was proved to be untenable in a paper read by the writer at the Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra held at Rome in 1950.

[21] *G. S.* II, 44.

[22] It must be deemed highly improbable that he should have written an antiphonary in the new notation while still at Pomposa ; if there is at all any hint in his writings, it points away from Pomposa : after his stay at Rome Guido went to see the abbot of Pomposa and showed him his antiphonary as something quite novel : « qui nostrum antiphonarium ut vidit extemplo probavit et credidit » (*G. S.* II, 44).

Biographical data show that Guido must have used the neume-script of Arezzo and its neighboorhood, rather than that of Pomposa ; the differences between the two scripts, however, concern only minor points. Both greatly differ from the script used at Benevento ; though the latter belongs to the same family, the difference in almost all neume-forms is seen at first glance. The first kind of script was spread over Tuscany (including Arezzo), Umbria and the west coast to the south and has been called the notation of central Italy or Italo-Benevento notation, on account of the relationship with Benevento. The allied form of Emilia (with Pomposa and Ravenna) and its surroundings has been called the north Italian script, apart from the local notations of Milan, Nonantola and Bologna. It should be observed, however, that geographically no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two styles ; the development of variants is so gradual that one can do no more than speak of a shading off of the southern type of script into the nothern, and a given Ms may leave the student in doubt whether it should be classed with the former rather than with the latter.

The question of Guido's script being settled, there still remains that of the precise forms of the neumes used by him : among the notations of Europe the neume-script of northern and central Italy are very rich in variants.

Guido's own writings throw little light on the neumes used by himself. About the *liquescens* he says : « Porro liquescenti voci punctum quasi maculando supponimus (*G. S.* II, 16 superponimus) ». Does he mean a *cephalicus* form as the one in the *Orationale* of Arezzo (cf. *P. M.* II tab. 26 on « *ful*-goribus ») or in the *Liber Cantus* of Modena (cf. *P. M.* II tab. 36) [23] ?

Another remark tells us that there are neumes « qui tremulam habeant, id est varium tenorem quem longum aliquotiens litterae virgula plana apposita significat » (*G. S.* II, 15). What is this *tremula*? At an early date, even before 1100, there was disagreement among music teachers about the meaning of this word [24] ; moderns have taken it as an equivalent of *quilisma*.

Most probably, however, Guido means a certain group of ornamental tones such as *pressus, salicus, trigon, quilisma*. At the end of the Introduction to his Antiphonary he says about the neume-forms : « Quomodo autem liquescant voces et an adhaerenter vel discrete sonent ; quaeve sint morosae et tremulae et subitaneae.... facili colloquio in ipsa figura monstratur » (*G. S.* II, 37 c. c. *G. S.* I, 118 : « Quippe cum (neumae) et tarditatem seu celeritatem canti-

[23] See *P. M.* XIII 190 f. ; H. Freistedt, *Die liqueszierenden Noten des Gregorianischen Chorals*, Freiburg 1929, 42 ff.

[24] Cf. *C. S. M.* II, XX.

lenae et ubi tremulam sonus contineat vocem.... »). From vague and scattered hints like these a definite picture of the neume-forms cannot be made. For the present, therefore, biographical data must suffice to fix the kind of neumes used ; their precise form must remain undetermined. The biographical evidence may be confirmed from another source. If the reader will turn to the survey of Mss with Guidonian notation in the strict sense, he will find well over 60 Mss of the 11th and 12th centuries written in the neume-script of northern and central Italy ; all the Mss of the same period in any other notation add up to a total not nearly as large : this fact by itself is almost a compelling argument for the proposition that Guido started his campaign for the new notation in this script and in no other [25].

This script was not precisely the Benevento notation, though the regional influence of the latter reached far northward, even to the south of Umbria, which is not so far from Arezzo. The following reasons would support this view :

1. The Benevento system of neumes developed into a perfect diastematic notation in the first half of the 11th century, precisely in the times of Guido. It was evidently thought that musical wants were thus satisfied, and the change-over to Guido's line-notation appears to have been a slow process carried out within narrow limits. If Guido had made use of this script, which was eminently suitable for his purpose, his influence in the Benevento territory would have been far more effective. In this connection it is instructive to look up the survey of Ms on p. 24 f and compare the number of those in Benevento script with those in the notation of northern and central Italy (p. 20-24).

2. In all probability Guido is aiming at the Benevento notation, when he writes : « Ideoque quamvis perfecta sit positura neumarum, caeca omnino est et nihil valet sine adjunctione litterarum vel colorum » (*G. S.* II, 36) [26].

3. The *litterae-claves*, occurring in Mss in Benevento script and placed there in accordance with Guido's system of lines, are not written in the Benevento characters but in the ordinary Carolingian

[25] We draw special attention to the strictly Guidonian notation used in the important Ms Rome Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 5319. This Gradual was specially written for the papal choir of St. John of Lateran or of St. Peter's, and may be considered as a result of Guido's visit to Pope John XIX, of which Guido writes : « Tandem condiximus mox hieme redeunte me illuc debere reverti quatenus hoc opus praelibato Pontifici *suoque clero* debeam propalare » (*G. S.* II, 44).

[26] There is no reason to suppose that he had the notation of Nonantola and of Aquitania in view. Examples of the Benevento notation without either lines or *litterae-claves* are to hand ; see e. g. the *Sacramentarium* written for Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino (1058-1087) cf. *P. M.* II tab. 19 ; *P. M.* XIV 109 tab. 19 ; *P. M.* XV 56, No. 37 ; *Wo.* tab. 116 ; *S* 225 tab. 47.

ones [27]. This shows that this notation with its lines and its *litterae-claves* was treated not as something home-grown but as imported from elsewhere.

These remarks on the neume-script used by Guido may fitly be concluded with some observations on two Mss, probably written at Arezzo in the 11th or 12th century. The *Orationale* of Arezzo [28] has only a few pages of musical notation ; it employs only one coloured line (the red *F* line) and one *littera-clavis F*. From the absence of the *c* line no conclusions can be drawn [29] ; the recitative of the chants does not demand its presence.

The two folia of a Gradual of Arezzo in cod. Rome Bibl. Vat. Vat. Lat. 10654 [30] have four *lineae* and no coloured lines. They may cause a moment's surprise but it should be remembered that the Guido notation has two main forms : one with *lineae* and one with a combination of *lineae* and coloured lines [31]. The oldest Mss, more especially those written in the script of northern and central Italy, show that both forms were used [32]. This is strikingly evinced by the Mss of Tuscany and adjoining territories, written in the 11th and 12th centuries in the monasteries of the Camaldolites, who in this first period were strong partisans of this new method of notation, and greatly helped its diffusion [33]. Besides the four Mss with red lines, the Nos. 1, 2, 18, 32 in the *Notatio I* of the Survey, they wrote the following Mss, with *lineae* only :

a. Lucca, Bibl. Cap. 628, fol. 1-3, s. XI/XII fragm. Ant. ex abbatia S. Maria a Pontetetto (a good mile south of Lucca).

b. Lucca, Bibl. Cap. 603, s. XII Ant. ex eadem abbatia cf. *P. M.* II, tab. 34 ; IX 12.

c. Lucca, Bibl. Cap. 609, s. XII Proc. ex eadem abbatia [34].

It is regrettable that no Ms of Arezzo [35] in the strict Guidonian

[27] The same holds good for Cod. Monte Cassino 318 (cf. *Casinensia* 1929 tab. II B) in which only the *littera-clavis e* has the Benevento form.

[28] Cf. *P. M.* II tab. 26.

[29] See above p. 19.

[30] Fol. 18, 19 with four lineae and *litterae-claves D, F, c,* cf. *B.* 137 No. 148.

[31] Apart from special cases such as the *Orationale* of Arezzo, the use of one colour, the red *fa* line, is exceptional and should be considered a later phase in the evolution of the line-notation.

[32] The oldest Mss with four *lineae* may be the *Missale* of Tortosa (Bibl. Cath. 10), written in Tuscany in 1055 for the purpose of introducing there the Roman liturgy. It has the neume forms of central Italy.

[33] There is no doubt that a special study of the neume forms used by the Camaldolites will reveal further Mss originating from their *scriptoria.*

[34] To the list must be added cod. Rome Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 85 fol. 282v., early 13th century, from the abbey of St. Damian at Ponteferri cf. *B.* 148 No. 478 tab. 92b ; ibid. 143 No. 433 a reference to some folia (Vat. lat. 4365 ff. I, II, 127, 128) of a *Breviarium* « probabilmente da un monastero Camaldolese », with one red line, written about 1100.

[35] Later Mss, probably of Arezzo origin, are left out of account here, such as Toledo Bibl. Cap. 52, 11 of the 14th century, and Arezzo Bibl. Publ. Grad. of 1476.

notation has been preserved [36] ; they have all shared the lot of so many others.

The foregoing seems to warrant the following conclusion :

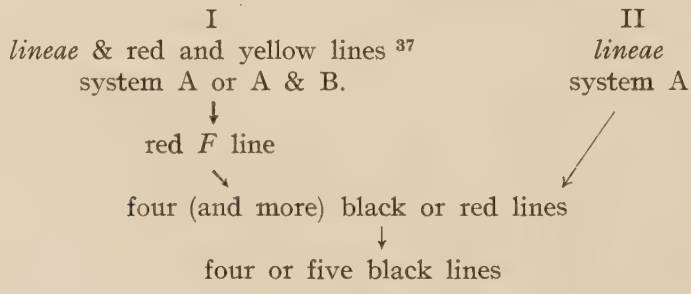
1. Guido wrote his Antiphonary in the central Italian neume-script, one that is rich in variations ; which of these varieties were used by Guido cannot be established.

2. From the tradition of the Mss with Guidonian notation in the territories of Emilia, Tuscany and Umbria in the 11th and 12th centuries it appears that Guido arranged his Antiphonary with a coloured *fa* line and *do* line in accordance with system A ; there is just a possibility that for melodies at a higher or a lower level he used a combination of A and B.

3. He used the *custos* and *litterae-claves* ; *F* and *c* were certainly used, probably also others. These *litterae-claves* were placed not *in spatio* but before the lines.

III. — Development and Diffusion of the Guidonian Notation in the 11th and 12th centuries.

The Guidonian notation had two main forms (above p. 18), one with *lineae* only, the other a combination of *lineae* and coloured lines (a yellow *do* line and a red *fa* line). Starting from these the evolution of the notation may be represented by the following diagram :



The diagram only indicates the main trend and leaves variants to be discussed presently ; no attempt is made at fixing a date even approximately, since breaking with a tradition or continuing it is too much of an individual or local concern.

There is a double reason for putting the neumes or notes exclu-

[36] There is only one Ms of the first period probably originating from Pomposa. It is Udine Bibl. archiep. F. 20 s. XI ; it has no lines, but there is an addition, which was made shortly after the completion on fol. 87v. and which is notated on four *lineae*.

[37] Sometimes only the red *F* line, when this is sufficient for the melody on hand.

sively on uncoloured *lineae*. First of all there was the trouble of providing two other colours besides black, and drawing the coloured lines by hand [38]. A second and more telling reason was that in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries Guido's object in colouring the lines receded to the background and was forgotten : Guido wanted to thrust [39], as it were, the position of the *semitonia* upon the mind of the singer. When this was lost sight of [40], the coloured lines became a mere nuisance. For the three successive tones *B, C, D* and *e, f, g* were each given a line (*linea*, coloured line, *linea*) for no reason whatsoever ; in system B this would be *E, F, G* and *b, c, d*.

Variants.

It is very exceptional for a writer of the first period to use only *lineae* and to draw a *fa* or *do* line as an additional *linea in spatio* ; as a rule such writers draw only *lineae*, without additonal *lineae in spatio* (in accordance with system A).

During the 12th and 13th centuries a transition was made from *lineae* « stagno blumbove tractae » [41] to exclusively black lines « ex incaustro factae », a result of improvements in the technique of writing [42].

The tracing of exclusively red lines means the express purpose of placing the system of lines in relief, an idea suggested by the prevalent use of the red *Fa* line.

The current opinion that green or red were indifferently used for the coloured *do* line is an error. The use of green instead of yellow was a variation occurring locally, but restricted to the north-west of France [43].

[38] Cf. John of Affligem (c. 1100) « Quidam tamen si color desit, pro minio punctum in principio lineae ponunt. Idcirco has duas sc. *F* et *C* vel etiam colores quibus notantur, tantopere observari praecipimus.... » (*C S M* I, 141).

[39] « Ut proprietas sonorum *discernatur clarius*
Quasdam lineas signamus variis coloribus » (*G. S.* II, 30).

[40] Cf. *Speculum Musicae* Jacobi (Leodiensis?) : « Et hi (sc. ecclesiae Gallicanae tam saeculares quam claustrales) quidem in notando non distinctis utuntur coloribus, nec unquam in spatio lineam ponunt. Hoc enim superfluum videtur » (*C. S.* II, 311).

[41] *Quaestiones in Musica*, IIa P. cap. 27 (ed. Steglich 98).

[42] Jacobi (Leodiensis?) *Speculum Musicae*, lib. VII, cap. LXXIII, *C. S.* II, 311a ; *Anon.* IV, *C. S.* I, 349b.

[43] The use of green lines was not a characteristic of the Sens Mss. This was Bannister's opinion, which was taken over by P. Wagner II, 280 n. 1 and J. Wolf I, 135 n. 4. In his description of the Sens Mss in the Bibl. Vat. (*Monumenti Vaticani*) Bannister makes no mention of a green line. What he says is this : « L'uso verde pel giallo è in generale segno di *scriptorium* francese, benchè tal colore si trovi anche in Mss. inglesi e non manchi in alcuni italiani » (p. XXXIa). For the « alcuni italiani » he refers *loc. cit.* to cod. Roma, Bibl. Vat. lat. 4750 (12th cent. of Ravenna?) fol. 5r. and 25v., the reference to English Mss. is probably to Ms. London, Brit. Mus. 34209.

Two coloured lines (one green, one red) are found in :

1. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10509 « Monasterii Si Vandregesili Congreg. S. Mauri » (St. Wandrille) 12th cent. fol. 1r.-13r. Officium S. Taurini ; fol. 13v.-35r. Tractus missae ; fol. 56r.-57v. « versus de Sancta Maria » cf. *A. F.* 67 ff. ; *C. S. M.* III, cod. P. 4.

2. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 15508 12th cent. « Ex abbatia S. Ebrulfi Congreg. S. Mauri » (St. Evreux) fol. 6r.-135r. Trop. cf. *P. M.* III tab. 194 ; *Wo* 135 ; *C. S.* II, p. VIII-X ; *C. S. M.* III cod. P. 2.

3. St. Omer, Bibl. Publ. 98 13th cent. Pontificale of St. Bertin cf. *P. M.* III tab. 173.

4. Douai, Bibl. Publ. 90 12th cent. ex. Missale plen. of the abbey at Anchin cf. *P. M.* III tab. 168a.

5. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 4750 (cf. No. 31 of the Survey of Mss) 12th cent. 2/2 Proc. mon. of Ravenna (?) only fol. 5r.-25v. cf. *B* 135.

The notations of the following Mss have a yellow *c* line and a red *F* line ; the rest are green :

6. Cf. No. 161 (of the Survey of Mss).
7. Cf. No. 162.
8. Cf. No. 165 of the abbey St. Peter at Erfurt (1436).
9. Cf. No. 108 of the church of St. Bavo at Ghent.
10. Cf. No. 109.

The following Mss have a green *F* line and yellow *c* line :

11. Cf. No. 126 Breviarium of Chartres.
12. Cf. No. 132 Missale of Chartres.
13. Cf. No. 137 Missale of St. Jean-en-Vallée near Chartres.

With red *F* line, green *a* line and yellow *c* line :

14. Cf. No. 167.
15. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 778.

Some other variants occur : Mss with one line coloured green for *c* [44], the rest uncoloured ; with one red *c* line, the rest black [45] ; others again with a red line for *c* and one for *F* [46] etc. All these however are exceptional cases.

A special group of variants is made up by those Mss which solve the problem of the notation of non-diatonic degrees by means of coloured ledger lines and/or the help of special *litterae-claves*. Here we leave out of account such as represent *b-mollis* by the letter *b*,

[44] Provins, Bibl. Publ. 12 (24) 13th cent. Grad. of Angers cf. *P. M.* III tab. 207 ; *Wo.* 135.

[45] Berlin, Staatsbibl. Phill. 1678 12th cent. (not. of Metz) cf. *Wo.* 137 c. tab. ; Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 778.

[46] Berlin, Staatsbibl. theol. lat. fol. 243 Psalter. cf. *Wo.* 137 s. Roma Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 4750 (cf. No. 31) has in the margin of folio 5r. and 25v. a green *c* line, then a *stilum* line and under it a red line ; cf. *B.* 135a c. c. XXXI.

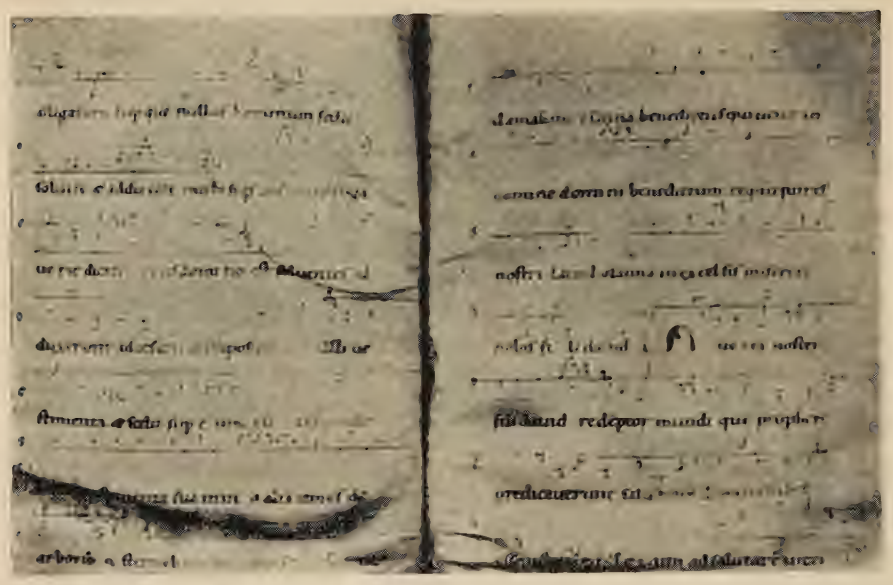
whether placed as *littera-clavis*, or written immediately before the tone or tone-group concerned.

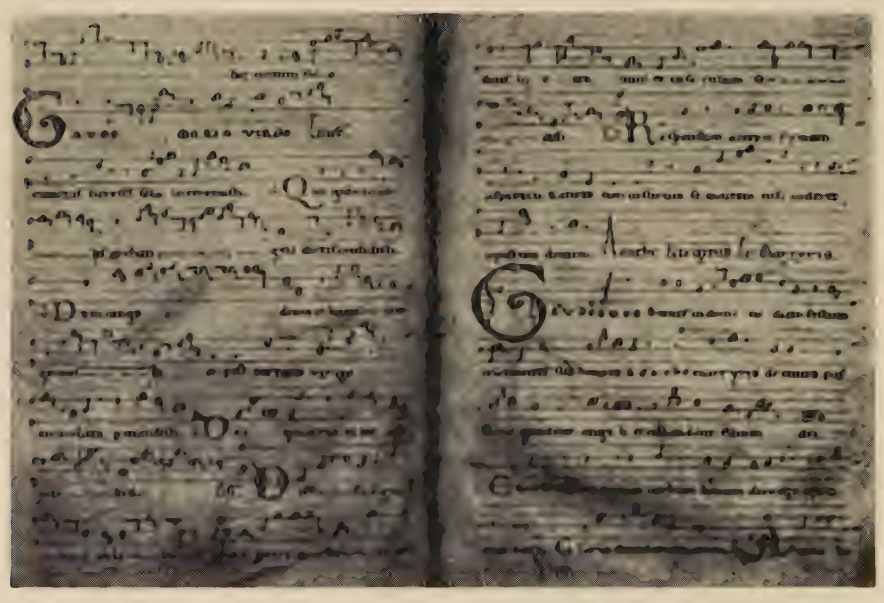
Cod. London Br. Mus. Add. 34209 [47] and Rome Bibl. Casanat. 1547 (C. IV. 1) [48] notate the *si-mollis* on a green line between the *a* line and the (yellow) *c* line. The writer of cod. Benevent. Bibl. Cap. VI. 34 [49], solves the difficulty in another way at the beginning of the Gradual « Ostende nobis ». The melody here has the pure Doric notation with *D* as final tone, so that the initial tones are to be read *B*-flat-*C-D*. To warn the singer of the *tonus* under *C*, which is placed as *clavis-linea* between the lines, the writer puts the letter *F* before the lower (*B*) linea, as if to say : read here *C* as *G* with subtonal function. A similar solution is given by the writer of cod. Bologna 2748 (see Pl. e) on fol. 18v. above the fifth line of text. The melody is : *f-g, d, c, si-mollis, d, c.* To indicate the *si-mollis* he lowers at that point the yellow *do* line one degree and furthermore adds littera *b*. By lowering the *do* line the writer wants to say : take the note on this line as a tone with a *do* function, i. e., a *semitonium*-function ; not therefore as *b-durus* but as *b-mollis*. A like solution is found at the opening of the *Tractus* « Gaude Maria Virgo » in Clm 2542 fol. 15v. (Cistercian Gradual of Aldersbach 12th cent. ; see Pl. f) [50]. Starting on *a* the rising melisma on « Gau-*de* » should be : *D-E-F* ♯ *-G-a-*♭*-c-*♭*-*♭*-a.* Now to indicate that not *F* but *F*-sharp should be sung, the writer draws a red *F* line at the *G* level (*in spatio*), thus signifying that *G* has *fa* function, i. e., *subsemitonium-function*, and that the degree *in spatio* below it is to be read as *F*-sharp. The above might be compared with another Cistercian Gradual cod. 445 of Colmar fol. 94r. (see Pl. g), where the same melisma has the notation : Γ*-A-B-C-D-E-F-E-E-D.*

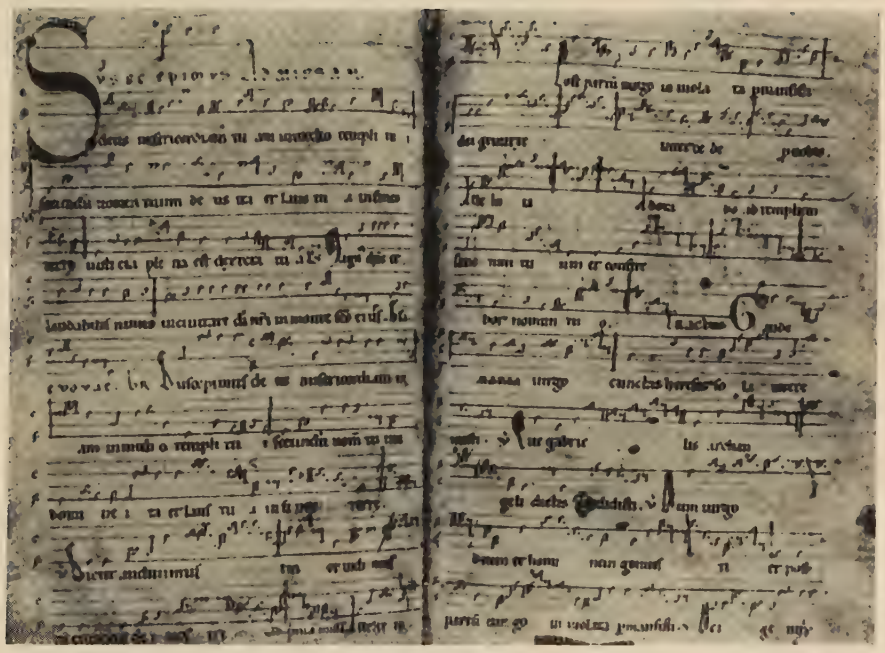
Diffusion.

In view of the drawbacks and difficulties entailed by the new notation and of the opposition that would naturally arise its diffusion in the 11th and 12th centuries took place at a quicker rate than might be exspected. Those drawbacks were considerable. Getting a new Antiphonary or Gradual was a costly affair in time and money : the mere existence of a new and better notation would not be a

[47] Published in *P. M.* VI ; cf. also *P. M.* I 146 tab. I, XV and *P. M.* V 26.
[48] See above No. 35.
[49] See *P. M.* XV fol. 6r.
[50] Dom Eugène Cardine O.S.B. of the abbey of Solesmes drew my attention to this point. I also owe to him the following reference, which he enabled me to establish with the help of photos. Cod. Verona (12th cent.) has a notation without lines, but on fol. 220v. it indicates the pitch by putting the *littera-clavis c* before the first neume of the new page ; similarly a *littera-clavis d* on fol. 222v.



Pl. e. Bologna, Un. Bibl. 2748 p. 18, 19

Pl. f. Munich, (Clm.) 2542, *Graduale* of Aldersnach.



Pl. g. Colmar, Un. Bibl. 445 fol. 93v., 94r.

pressing invitation to discard the old music books and sit down to write new ones. The writing of these, moreover, would make great demands on the *notatores*, because it was far more elaborate and required painstaking accuracy ; experienced singers would have to break with a past, perhaps a long past, and for a time at least become learners again in their craft. For the younger generation indeed it would be an alleviation in a routine of dull repetition and point a clear way ; but the teachers would have to scrap their methods, and find a new *Methodus ad inveniendum ignotum cantum.* What is more tenacious of its tradition than the habit of reading or writing, and the method of acquiring these accomplishments? It is not surprising therefore that Guido met with great opposition even at Pomposa and left his monastery ; nor that a writer about 1075 thus unburdened himself as regards the Guidonian lineae : « Qui ad evitandum fastidium et laborem ferrearum quatuor linearum.... » [51].

Besides these difficulties inherent in the situation, there was the fact that many persons in leading positions did not grasp the import of the new notation ; the viewpoint that the Benevento notation was abundantly clear without *lineae* and *litterae-claves* must have been a main cause to impede the progress of Guido's system in this region [52]. To a similar cause may be ascribed the fact that so many theorists between 1075 and 1150 while quoting Guido and commenting on him, never touch the subject of his notation. The oldest Mss of the treatises of Aribo, Frutolfus, Theogerus of Metz and William of Hirsau unfailingly notate neumes without any lines ; the original may therefore be presumed to have been written in similar notation.

The addition to the Guidonian notation made by the author of *Quaestiones in musica* [53], probably the scholaster Franco of Liége (1047-1083?) [54], may be ascribed to the same cause, lack of full understanding. Franco thought he could improve the notation by using only one line which is variously coloured for *Prothus, Deuterus, Tritus* and *Tetrardus* [55]. This return to the modal principle and the use of only one line was a regress rather than a progress, apart from the bother of keeping four colours at hand ; it never caught on.

During the 11th and 12th centuries a limited or an absolute aloofness was demonstrably observed in some territories, e. g. the Bene-

[51] *Quaestiones in Musica*, Pars IIa, cap. 27, Ed. Steglich 98.

[52] Another cause may reasonably be sought in the cultural narrow-mindedness prevalent in the regions under Benevento influence ; this state of mind also manifests itself in the maintenance of the old characters, when new ones were already in general use elsewhere.

[53] Edited by E. Steglich (Leipzig 1911) after the Mss. Darmstadt 1988 and Brussels 10162-66 ; the text has also come down to us in cod. Copenhagen Ny Kgl. Samml. 1794.

[54] On the authorship of Franco see J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Muziekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen* t. I, Tilburg 1936-40, 253-268.

[55] Cf. Ed. Steglich 98, 178 ff ; *Wa.* 279 f. ; *Wo.* 139 ; *P. G.* XIII, 162.

vento region and the German lands, where except along the Rhine the new notation was not adopted till the 13th century [56]; elsewhere it was welcomed with something like enthusiasm. This was especially the case in the territories cultivating the notation of northern and central Italy, where the Camaldolite monks championed the new method and wrote chant books for other churches, even for Spain. Then there are the dioceses of Liége and Utrecht. The very oldest library catalogue of Egmond abbey (North Holland), of about 1105, records the possession of Guido's writings. In 1099 Rudolf of St. Truiden (St. Trond) paid a visit to the abbey, where he was to be abbot later, and introduced the new notation « stupentibus senioribus faciebat illos solo visu subito cantare tacita arte magistra, quod numquam auditu didicerant » [57]. About the same time St. James's abbey of Liége owned a sheaf of treatises (cod. Darmstadt 1988), among which Guido's writings are to be found, and the above-mentioned *Quaestiones* as well. That the author of the *Quaestiones* made a futile attempt to improve the new notation in no way alters the fact that at the time this notation was known and sufficiently established there. The song books originating from the Liége territory (with neume forms of their own) likewise disclose the use of the Guidonian notation about this time [58]. Among the most active

[56] Cf. the survey of Mss above p. 27 f.

In Reichenau abbey the Guidonian notation was introduced towards the end of the 12th century under abbot Diethelm I (1173-1206) (cf. K. Hain, *Ein Musikalischer Palimpsest*, Freiburg Schw. 1925); in Einsiedeln about 1300 under abbot John von Schwanden (1298-1327) and in Sankt Gallen as late as the 15th century (cf. *Wa.* 285).

[57] *M. G. H. SS.* X 273.

[58] It is just possible that this has something to do with the close connection of the Popes Leo IX (1049-1054), Victor II (1055-1057) and Stephen IX (1057-1058) with the city of Liége (cf. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Muziekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen*, vol. I, 88 ff., 453 f.). When visiting Liége Leo IX took some Liégeois scholars with him to Rome (the script of the Roman chancellery at this time employs Liége characters), one of them being Frederick, who after Pope Leo's death retired to Monte Cassino, where he was chosen abbot in 1057; in the same year he became Pope under the name of Stephen IX.

The Mss. referred to here, with the Guidonian notation but with neume forms of their own, and originating from Liége territory, are: Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10654, fol. 72-79 s. XII 1/2 cf. *B.* 167 No. 564, tab. 113. London, Br. Mus. add. 18031-32 cf. *The musical notation in the middle ages*, tab. 13; *P. M.* III, tab. 131. The Hague, Kon. Bibl. 76 F. 3 fol. 3 (teg.) and 14r. s. XII cf. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Muziek en Drama in de Middeleeuwen*, Amsterdam 1943, tab. 10 and 11.

We may here recall the story told by Reinerus of St. Laurence's abbey at Liége (1157-c. 1190) of how he composed and wrote down some melodies « de sanctis Sixto, Felicissimo et Agapito », which on account of the neume forms of Liége and environs may be presumed to have been put down in the Guidonian notation (*M. G. H. SS.* 20, 599, 34; *M. P. L.* CCIV, c. 27 s.):

« Ejusdem melodia de sanctis hujusque fortuna.

Praeterea dum arte instituerer musica, quo assignassem fructum studio, melodiam composui de sanctis Sixto, Felicissimo et Agapito. Quippe vegetatio ingenii sedulitas est exercitii; simulque mira vis indita probatur arti, ut piis cordibus

propagandists must be counted John of Affligem, who in the years 1100-1121 wrote his musical treatise and, in chapter 21 « Quid utilitatis afferant neumae a Guidone inventae », in his characteristic energetic way urges the use of Guido's new notation. As far as we know there is no extent of territory in Europe where so many data on the introduction of the Guidonian notation about 1100 are to be found as in the Low Countries.

IV. — To what extent is the notation an invention of Guido's.

Many musicologists have asked this question and have answered it. In their answers it was assumed that the Guidonian notation was a definite and closed system of representing sounds in writing, and on the strength of this assumption they tried to trace the several elements of the system to their historical sources. They arrived at the conclusion that almost all the elements — the use of lines, the construction of the staff in thirds, the use of clefs and of the *custos* — had been in use before Guido's time ; only the system of *four* lines and the colouring of the *fa* and *do* lines were directly due to Guido.

The reader who has followed this study so far will have seen that the Guidonian notation is not one system, and that it cannot be held to be a compound of various elements. The question of how far Guido was original has been deliberately held back, because it had to be shown first that his notation essentially consisted of

multum affectionis, multum parere soleat compunctionis sua dulcedine. Id minime quidam attendentes ea sedulo cum exercerer, levitati et lasciviae deputabant, quorum videlicet unus, quem secundi prioratus tunc fulcirent tribunalia (sc. scholasticus Joannes, frater Gisleberti. S. v. W.), arripiens tabellas, quibus exiles impresseram cogitatus, aliquantisper consideravit. Interim oscitabam metu. Etenim torvus hominis vultus suspensaque supercilia futurum mihi malum praesagiebant. O judicem Minoe vel Athamanto severiorem. Legens infremuit, cantans ex hoc in hoc inclinavit : cum ecce veluti magna colaphizatus injuria coepit innocentes ceras obruere, et quae exarata erant, aemulo unguis aratro confundere.

Quid facerem ? Iuctarerne, streperem, convitiarer ? Virgarum falces in capitulo, accusatores multi, ut recogitanda magnopere mihi Pharisaeorum, Saducaeorumque tumultatio, qua periclitatus olim Paulus fuerat in concilio. Pestem murmure imprecarer ? Pressum dentibus nihil prodesset anathema. Quid igitur ? Depono auricutas ut iniquae mentis asellus, cum gravius dorso subiit onus, hypocritarumque patientia mansuesco ad calamitatem.

Num vero iterum ceris delecta mandarem ? Unguis ille truculentior immineret. Membranulis resarcirem ? Arulam et prunas regis Joachim, et scalpellum Judi scribae animo versabam maxime, cum nec ego Jeremias, nec mihi Baruch esset notarius. Ergo refrigueram ab incoepto.

Longum denique jam tempus decesserat : revolvere tandem coepi, si quae ejusdem apud memoriam cantus reliquiae superessent.

Qui tam prompte recuperatus est, ac si ante oculus haberem exteriores adnotatum, ut senserim certe quodammodo vota non despicere Deum simplicia. Igitur dedi membranulae, quod redditum erat memoriae ».

one principle, namely, the construction in thirds of parallel lines of definite pitch ; secondary or integrating parts of this notation are clef-letters or colours at the writer's pleasure. Hence, since the origin of staff construction in thirds has been, with or without qualification, thrown back to times before Guido, there would seem to be little ground to speak of the originality of Guido's notation, and the very name « Guidonian notation » might almost be called a usurpation, but for the fact that musicologists have erred by relying on sources that are historically unreliable or that date from times not before but after Guido.

The two sources in question are : A. the text about the introduction of lines and neumes « per regulas et spatia » under abbot Ratold of Corbie (972-986) ; B. the prologue to the *Dialogus de Musica* attributed to Oddo.

A. The CORBIE text.

This is the passage :

« Sub iis temporibus incoeptus est novus modus canendi in monasterio nostro per flexuras et notas, per regulas et spacia distinctas, meliusculum dinumerando quam antea agebatur. Nam nullae regulae (antea) extabant in libris antiphonariorum et graduum ecclesiae nostrae » (Gerbert, *De Cantu* II, 61 ; Mabillon, *Annales ord. S. Ben.* [1707] IV, 36 with some alterations cf. J. N. Forkel II, 274).

All historians of music have taken this text as a reliable historical document of supreme value[59]. Whatever its meaning, whether it is in agreement or disagreement with the Guidonian notation, it is no use wasting words over the contents of this passage, because it is not of the slightest historical value.

The passage occurs in the history of the abbey of St. Peter at Corbie, compiled in the 16th century by one of the monks, Antonius Caulincourt, which authorship has so far escaped musicologists [60]. The writer does not quote but narrates, and he must have formed his opinion about the introduction of staff-notation at Corbie not at the hand of older written sources but by study of the Mss with musical notation. He mentions no source whatever and his phrasing « Sub iis temporibus... » etc. in no way points to verbal citing ; in the historical records of Corbie covering the wide space of time between 900 and 1500 no such piece of information is to be found ; the phrasing of the passage employs terms which are post-Guidonic [61] ;

[59] *Wa.* 142 ; *P. M.* XIII, 134 ; *S.* 59 ; R. Steglich, *Die Quaestiones*, 179 ; L. Balmer, *Tonsystem u. Kirchentöne bei Johannes Tinctoris*, Bern-Leipzig 1935, 25 ff.

[60] Amiens cod. 524.

[61] The music writers of the 9th and 10th centuries did not use the terms « *regula* » and « *spatia* » in the sense meant here ; for « *regula* » the word *linea* was used and even more frequently *chorda*, while instead of « *spatium* » they made shift with *inter chordas* (*lineas*).

the contents of the passage are questionable [62]. An opinion like this launched some five hundred years after the events by an unknown somebody can hardly be relied on as an historical basis. But apart from all this, the writer stands convicted of untruth in face of unimpeachable evidence. Facts as those narrated by him, if true, would inescapably have left their traces in the Corbie Mss. This is not the case. There are Corbie Mss of the 10th-12th centuries extant, even a good many of them [63], to show that not a ghost of a staff line notation, such as is referred to in the passage, is to be found about the year 1000 either at Corbie [64] or in the neighbourhood ; and it is ironic that Corbie appears to be one of the late-comers in adopting the Guidonian notation. So much for the Corbie text.

B. PROLOGUS IN DIALOGUM ODDONIS.

The *Dialogus* is a theory of music which was diligently studied by Guido and which furnished several ideas for the *Micrologus*. Did it also furnish the idea of the « Guidonian notation »? The passage suggesting it is transcribed here together with a parallel passage from the prologue to *Micrologus*.

Prologus Dialogi Oddonis.

Petistis obnixe, carissimi Fratres, quatenus paucas vobis *de Musica regulas traderem*, atque eas tantummodo, quas *pueri* et simplices sufficiant capere quibusque ad cantandi peritiam perfectam velociter, Deo adiuvante, valeant pervenire.

Vobiscum quippe positus tantum *cooperante Deo* per hanc artem quosdam veros pueros ac iuvenes docuit, ut alii triduo, alii quatriduo, *quidam vero unius hebdomadae*

Prologus Micrologi Guidonis.

Cum me et naturalis conditio et bonorum imitatio communis utilitatis diligentem faceret, cepi inter alia studia *musicam tradere pueris*.

Tandem adfuit mihi *divina gratia* et quidem eorum imitatione chordae, nostrarum notarum usu *excercitati, ante unius mensis spatium* invisos et *inauditos* cantus ita *primo intuitu indubitanter* cantabant, ut maximum spectaculum plurimis prae-

[62] The comparison is between two systems one with lines and one without them ; now it seems curious, to say the least, that this wide difference is spoken of as : « meliusculum dinumerando quam antea agebatur ». The author's suggestion that at the time (c. 980.) Corbie was somewhat backward in this respect (« Nam nullae regulae extabant in libris.... ecclesiae *nostrae* ») seems likewise rather strange, for nothing of the kind has been recorded for any monastery or church before Guido.

[63] See *Dict. d'arch. Chrét. s. v.* Corbie, cc. 2922-2958.

[64] It is known for certain that cod. Paris B. N. 12052 was written by order of abbot Ratoldus of Corbie (972-986) ; it is a *Sacramentarium* (with neumes cf. *P. M.* XIII, 76, fig. 4) and intended for Saint-Vast ; cf. also cod. Paris B. N. lat. 18010 12th cent. ; *P. M.* XIII, fig. 191 ; *S.* 240 tab. 54.

spatio hac arte excercitati quamplures antiphonas, *non audientes* ab aliquo, sed regulari tantummodo descriptione contenti per se discerent et post modicum *indubitanter* proferrent. Non multis postea evolutis diebus *primo intuitu* et ex improviso, quidquid per Musicam descriptum erat, sine vitio decantabant; quod hactenus communes cantores nunquam facere potuerant, dum plures eorum quinquaginta iam annis in canendi usu et studio inutiliter permanserunt.

beretur. Maxime itaque dolui de nostris cantoribus, qui etsi centum annis in canendi studio perseverent, numquam tamen vel minimam antiphonam per se valent efferre....

Prologus in Antiphonarium (*G. S.* II, 35).

Taliter etenim Deo auxiliante hoc antiphonarium notare disposui, ut per eum posthac leviter aliquis sensatus et studiosus cantum discat; et postquam partem eius per magistrum bene cognoverit, reliqua per se sine magistro indubitanter agnoscit.

The parallelism of thought, sometimes even of words, is evident and the question must be answered: Does Guido depend on Oddo or the reverse? To one who is familiar with Guido's transmitting traditional lore in his own characteristic manner, it would be foolish to suppose that he suddenly becomes slavishly dependent on another man's writing at the moment that he has something quite personal to communicate. But an editor's opinion does not make an argument.

The Mss may be arranged in two groups:

I. *Mss with the Prologus.*

1. London, B. M. Add. 10335 12th cent. in. fol. 107v.-113v.
2. Berlin, Staatsbibl. Ms lat. oct. 265 12th cent. in. fol. 9-22v.
3. Pistoia, Bibl. Cap. 100 12th cent. fol. 39-49v.
4. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 7211 12th cent. fol. 105-115.
5. Brussels., Bibl. Royale II 784 13th cent. fol. 42v.-56v.
6. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3713 13th cent. fol. 30-37v.
7. Rome, Bibl. Vat. Reg. 1146 14th cent. fol. 24-34.
8. Milan, Bibl. Ambr. D. 455 15th cent. fol. 21-28.
9. Leipzig, Univ. Bibl. 1492 anno 1438 fol. 107v.-113v.

II. *Mss without the Prologus.*

10. Munich, (Clm.) 14965a 11th cent. fol. 33-37v.
11. Rome, Bibl. Vallicell. B. 81 11th cent. fol. 71-82v.
12. Monte Cassino, 318 11th cent. ex. pp. 218 ff.
13. Wolfenbüttel, Gud. Lat. 8°. 334 11th cent. ex. fol. 112-127.
14. Florence, Bibl. Naz. Conv. Sopp. F. III, 56 5c. 1100 fol. 33v.-43v.
15. Darmstadt, 1988 c. 1100 fol. 101v.-110.
16. Rome, Bibl. Vat. Reg. 72 12th cent. in. (fragm.) fol. 61v.-64v.

17. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 10645 c. 1100 (fragm.) fol. 1, 2.
18. Oxford, Balliol Coll. 173 12th cent. fol. 101-106.
19. Rein, XXIV 12th cent. 1/2 fol. 47-60.
20. Munich, (Clm.) 19421 12th cent. fol. IV.-12v.
21. Admont, 494 (Rochester N.Y., Sibley Mus. Libr. of the Eastman School of Music) 12th cent. fol. 1-11.
22. Leyden, Bibl. Publ. Lat. 194 12th cent. fol. 22v.-39v.
23. Salzburg, Abbey of S. Peter a. V. 2. 12th cent. (fragm.) fol. 145r.v.
24. Vienna, (Cpv.) 51 12th cent. fol. 46-48v.
25. Rome, Bibl. Vat. Reg. 1196 12th cent. fol. 1-11.
26. Oxford, St. John's Coll. 150 12th cent. fol. 17-22.
27. Vienna, (Cpv.) 2503 12th cent. ex. fol. 37-42.
28. Munich, (Clm.) 19421 12th cent. fol. IV.-12v.
29. Munich, (Clm.) 14663 12th/13th cent. (fragm.) fol. 21v.-24v.
30. Naples, Bibl. VIII. D. 4. 12th/13th cent. fol. 1-4v.
31. Utrecht, Univ. Bibl. 406 13th cent. (fragm.) fol. 230v.
32. Florence, Bibl. Laur. Plut. 29. 48. 13th cent. fol. 33v.-36.
33. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 7461 13th cent. fol. 19-25.
34. Erfurt, Bibl. Amplon. 94 13th cent. fol. 30-35v.
35. Erfurt, Bibl. Amplon. 93 14th cent. ex. fol. 68-74. (fragm.)
36. Brussels, Bibl. Royale 1485-1501 14th cent. fol. 273.
37. London, Br. Mus. Harl. 281 14th cent. fol. 21-28.
38. Florence, Bibl. Riccard. 652 14th cent. (copy of No. 23).
39. Trier, Stadtbibl[65] 14th cent.
40. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 7369 anno 1471 fol. 47-59v.
41. Brussels, Bibl. Royale 10162-66 15th cent. fol. 28v.-34.
42. Berlin, Staatsbibl. Ms. Theol. lat. Qu. 261 15th cent. fol. 9-22v.
43. Cambridge, Trin. Coll. 1441 (0.9.29) 15th cent. fol. 85v.-95.
44. Ghent, Univ. Bibl. 70/71 anno 1503/4 fol. 28v.-34.
45. London, Br. Mus. Add. 4915 18th cent. (copy of No. 9).

This list shows that no 11th century Ms carries the prologue and that it has been transmitted by a comparatively small number of later Mss. There is some internal evidence. In the course of the Prologue the writer observes that he has found some minor deviations in the « Antiphonarium S. Gregorii » : « non minus aliquorum cantorum testimonio, quam regulae sunt correptae. Tamen in prolixioribus cantibus vocem ad altum tonum pertinentem et superfluas elevationes et depositiones contra regulam invenimus ». An opinion like this on the authentic Gregorian chant is not that of Cluny but of Citeaux ; its time therefore is not the 10th century, but about 1100 or later.

[65] Cf. P. Wagner, Ueber die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung des Dialogus Domni Oddonis, *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft* V (1889), pp. 261-66.

Taking the above results together there seems to be sufficient reason for considering the Oddo prologue a later addition, written some considerable time after the *Micrologus*.

Besides the above texts no evidence has ever been brought forward to make it certain or probable that before Guido a system of lines, constructed in thirds, was used in or out of Italy. By the side of this negative argument are the positive statements that claim the honour of this invention for Guido. In the first place his own testimony in his letter to Michael : he feels a martyr and an outcast for his great invention ; there is no reason to doubt his veracity. In the second place : the invention itself, as described and propounded by Guido, leads to a like conclusion. The man who discovers such a universal principle of musical notation can have the broadness of mind to leave his readers elbow-room in its application ; but a mere pedagogue cannot be expected to teach a certain application of a principle discovered by another, and in his own propaganda not to push his own application into the foreground but leave the pride of place to the alien principle. Lastly, there are the numerous testimonies, both negative and positive, of the music Mss before and after Guido, as well as of the writings of theorists who commented on his writings during the century after his death ; they speak with one voice.

After all it is needless to point out that *Musica Enchiriadis* employs a system of lines where the text or the so-called daseian symbols are written between the lines, where there is a passing suggestion that the text between the lines should be coloured in accordance with the *series* [66], and where there is a daseian sign at the beginning of each line : these things are essentially different from Guido's design and demand no discussion.

We may well conclude from the present study that the so-called « Guidonian notation » is an original invention, a stroke of genius by Guido of Arezzo, and, together with the modern notation [67] it has the right to the name Guidonian notation.

Amsterdam

[66] *G. S.* I, 156.

[67] Even modern renovations of musical notation (cf. « Notation Continue » by Pierre Hans, « Klavarscribo » by J. Pott) are based on the construction in thirds of a system of lines ; hence they are still Guidonian notations in a wider sense.

GUIDO OF AREZZO AND MUSICAL IMPROVISATION [1]

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It is the general opinion of music teachers nowadays that the musical education of young pupils should start from music itself, and that the material used in methodical training should be based on a musical unit, a motif, a melody, a song. Several more or less successful courses have been designed for this purpose. Children's songs, school-songs, folksongs have been collected or composed supplying abundant material to train the young singers. Theoretically this is not at all a bad way, but in practice this method far too easily has led the teacher to have overmuch care of the theoretical and technical skill of the pupil, at the cost of the primary aim : musical education.

I do not wish to expatiate here on the various ways of training school-children. But it will be generally agreed that the best method, without quite excluding songs, will place musical improvisation in the foreground, on condition however that the teacher should have a guide at his disposal which aims both at the development of musical aptitude and the acquisition of a certain technical skill such as singing from a score or taking down a melody heard. As a matter of fact no such guide exists [2]. This is not surprising since a very important element of melody, its dependence on laws, has so far not been investigated ; in other words, the mutual functional relations of tones in a melody, heard as a melody and free from harmonic associations, have not yet been discovered. Should these be found, musical improvisation would stand a good chance of being given the

[1] The word « improvisation » is not used here in its usual musical sense of composing or producing music extempore, but in its scholastic sense in the musical training of young pupils.

See the *Editor's Note* to the preceding article, p. 15.

[2] The line taken by Fritz Jöde is commendable, starting as it does from simple spontaneous musical communications ; its drawback is that the method is not based on melodic laws but wholly on the personal musical intuition and pedagogical talent of the teacher : hence it cannot be applied objectively and methodically. In the hands of an able master this method will no doubt produce good results.

place which is due to it in musical education [3]. Rhythmical training and guidance for the formal structure of a melody have found competent treatment in existing publications.

So far I have not seen Guido of Arezzo's name mentioned in connection with musical improvisation for children. Surely this is quite wrong, since he was the first to conceive and adopt a method for this part of musical education. In this as in other methods of teaching music he was centuries ahead of his time. The fact that Guido even to-day has not come into his own is partly due to himself as will appear further on, and partly to the circumstance that the full understanding of his words demands a knowledge both of musical science in the Middle Ages and of modern musicology and pedagogy.

Guido speaks of musical improvisation in Chapter XVII of *Micrologus*, which chapter has rather harmed than benefited his reputation as a musical pedagogue. As the text has been maimed, sometimes beyond recognition, we first cite the passage as it is to appear in the text that is now being printed in the *Micrologus*-edition of *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, with a critical apparatus covering 70 Mss ; to which we shall here add the variants of Gerbert's edition.

Caput XVII <micrologi>
quod ad cantum redigitur omne quod dicitur (*1*).

<I> His breviter intimatis aliud tibi planissimum dabimus argumentum (*2*) utillimum visu (*3*), licet hactenus inauditum. Quo cum omnium omnino melorum causa claruerit, poteris tuo usui adhibere quae probaveris commoda et nihilominus respuere quae videbuntur obscoena.

<II> Perpende igitur quia sicut omne scribitur (*4*) quod dicitur, ita ad cantum redigitur omne quod scribitur. Canitur igitur (*5*) omne quod dicitur, scriptura autem litteris figuratur.

Sed ne in longum nostra regula (*6*) producatur, ex hisdem (*7*) litteris quinque tantum vocales sumamus sine quibus nulla alia littera, sed nec syllaba sonare probatur, earumque permaxime casu (*8*) conficitur, quotienscumque suavis concordia in diversis partibus invenitur, sicut persaepe videmus tam (*9*) consonos et sibimet alterutrum respondentes versus in metris, ut quamdam quasi symphoniam grammaticae admireris. Cui si musica simili responsione (*10*) iungatur, duplici modulatione dupliciter (*11*) delecteris.

1. G (= Gerbert, *Scriptores de Musica*, II, 19 f.) scribitur *2. G* hic argumentum *3. G* usui *4. G* omne, quod dicitur, scribitur, ita *5. G* ergo *6. G* regula nostra *7. G* sex his de *8. G* causa *9. G* tam *omittit* *10. G* responsione simili *11. G* dupliciter *om*

[3] A publication on this subject by the author is due to appear shortly.

<III> Has itaque quinque vocales sumamus, forsitan cum tantum concordiae tribuunt verbis, non minus concinentiae (*12*) praestabunt et neumis. Supponantur itaque per ordinem litteris monochordi et quia quinque tantum sunt, tamdiu repetantur, donec unicuique sono sua describatur vocalis, hoc modo :

Γ A B C D E F G a b c d e f g a
a e i o u a e i o u a e i o u a (*13*)

In qua descriptione id modo perpende, quia cum his quinque litteris omnis locutio moveatur, moveri quoque et quinque voces ad se invicem, ut diximus, non negetur. Quod cum ita sit, sumamus modo aliquam locutionem, eiusque syllabas illis sonis adhibitis decantemus, quos (*14*) earumdem syllabarum vocales subscriptae monstraverint, hoc modo :

G u rum tu rum
F o Jo to o co o
E i ri pi dig
D e cte nes me neque ne nere
C a San han as ca

C D FC D DEFG GFG FEC D DF E D C DD
Sancte Ioannes meritorum tuorum copias nequeo digne canere.

Quod itaque de hac oratione factum est, et de omnibus posse fieri nulli dubium est.

<IV> Sed ne gravis tibi imponatur necessitas quod (*15*) ad hunc modum vix cuilibet symphoniae minus (*16*) quinque accidant (*17*) voces et ipsas quinque transgredi saepe ad votum non suppetat : ut tibi paulo liberius liceat evagari, alium item versum subiungo vocalium, sed ita sit diversus, ut a tertio loco prioris incipiat, hoc modo :

Γ A B C D E F G a b c d e f g a
a e i o u a e i o u a e i o u a
o u a e i o u a e i o u a e i o (*18*)

Ubi cum duobus ubique subsonis in quibus quique habeantur vocales, cum videlicet cuique sono et una subsit, et altera satis tibi liberior facultas accedit, et productiori et contractiori pro libitu motu incedere (*19*). Unde et hoc nunc videamus qualem symphoniam huic rhythmo suae vocales attulerint.

12. G cantilenae *13. G addit vocales e-i-o cum litteris tonorum* *14. G* quas *15. G* quia *16. G* minus *om* *17. G* accidunt *18. G addit vocales* $\frac{e\text{-}i\text{-}o}{u\text{-}a\text{-}e}$ *cum litteris tonorum* *19. G* motu variare et incedere

F	G	a	b	c	d	e	f
e	i	o	u	a	e	i	o
u	a	e	i	o	u	a	e

(20)

G G F a G a a a a b G a c b c d e d c d c
Linguam refrenans temperet, ne litis horror insonet, visum fovendo
c a G a c b G a F GG
contegat, ne vanitates hauriat (21).

In sola enim ultima parte hoc argumentum reliquimus, ut melum suo tetrardo conveniens redderemus.

V. Cum itaque suis tantum vocalibus quidam aptam (22) sibi adeo vindicent (23) cantilenam, non est dubium quin fiat aptissima si in multis exercitatus de pluribus potiora tantum sibique aptius respondentia eligas, hiantia suppleas, compressa revolvas, producta nimium contrahas, ac nimis contracta distendas, ut unum quod accuratum opus efficias. Illud praeterea scire te volo quod in morem puri argenti cunctus (24) cantus quo magis utitur (25), coloratur (26), et quod modo displicet, per usum quasi lima politum postea collaudatur ; ac pro diversitate gentium ac mentium quod huic displicet, ab illo (27) amplectitur, et hunc oblectant (28) nunc (29) consona, ille magis probat diversa ; iste continuationem et mollitiem secundum suae mentis lasciviam quaerit, ille, utpote gravis, sobriis cantibus demulcetur ; alius vero ut amens in compositis et anfractis (30) vexationibus pascitur ; et unusquisque eum cantum sonorius multo pronuntiat quem secundum suae mentis insitam qualitatem probat.

For the purpose of convenient reference and discussion the text has been cut up into five parts (I-V), which will be dealt with in succession.

The heading is decidedly vague, not to say cryptic, and hardly suggests to the reader that he is to expect a method of improvisation. It certainly does not cover the contents of the whole chapter ; if anything, it promotes misunderstanding.

I. Three statements are here made by way of introduction. The first is that the method he is going to propose is very useful (*utillimum*) ; the second that it is something new (*hactenus inauditum*). In the third place the method will make the pupil dig down and see what makes a melody a melody (*cum omnium omnino melorum*

20. G figuram hanc omittit ; figura apud G authentica non est *21. G supra* horror *inscribit* h c *et supra* vanitates c h c a. *Etiam in exemplo cum lineis sic notat* vanitates. *22. G* quidam cantus quamdam aptam *23. G* vendicet (*sic*) adeo *24. G* omnis *25. G* usitatur *26. G* eo magis coloratur *27. G* alio *28. G* oblectat *29. G* nunc *om* *30. G* et in anfractis

causa claruerit), so that he may adopt or discard whatever suggestions will be made in the sequel.

II. This passage continues the introduction and explains the heading. It might have been omitted, but Guido is both grammarian and musician — he taught other subjects beside music at the cathedral school of Arezzo [4] — and after the fashion of his time he cannot refrain from making a passing reference to the connection between music, i. e. singing, and the spoken or written word.

III. Here he comes to grips with his subject and the first of the three phases of the new method is unfolded : it describes the initial stage for beginners in improvisation as a sort of mechanical play with a number of tones and a given text : each of the five latin vowels a, e, i, o, u, is made to correspond to one or two tonesteps.

It has been argued that this juggling with tones has nothing to do with living music, and critics have wondered how a man like Guido could concern himself with such futilities and put them down in writing. Such critics missed the point and failed to see that Guido was only making a start ; that he was so to say teaching the baby to take steps preparatory to teaching him to walk. It strikes one that here as in the well-known hymn « Ut queant laxis » the praises of St. John are to be sung.

IV. In the second phase there is progress in two respects : in the first place the pupil is to be given a certain freedom ; if in the first instance he was tied down to one tone-step, he is now required to write two different vowels under the tone-steps.

He thus has to choose from two, frequently from three or four, different tones to the same text-vowel, in other words the 1st, 3rd, 6th and 8th tone-steps. From which it is at once apparent how, while toying as it were with tones, the pupil's ear is being trained and developed. (Account should also be taken of the fact that in the Middle Ages the ear was not tuned to one kind of tone, e. g. the major scale, but to the pure diatonic scale or to the characteristic of the four church modes). From the above it is also apparent that Guido has good reason for advancing his method as *utillimum*, because the pupil's ear is being trained by having to choose between suitable and unsuitable combinations of tones in a melody. Guido then cites a line from the hymn of Prime « Jam lucis orto sidere », which draws from him the observation that constitutes another important step forward.

Guido says that in the example quoted he has deviated from his own rule in order to give the melody a suitable final cadence. So a new rule is laid down, namely that the pupil when writing

[4] From Guido's letter to Bishop Theobald : « Vestrae benignitatis dignatio ad Sacri Verbi studium meam sibi sociari voluit parvitatem ». *GS* II, 2.

cadences should shake himself free from rules learned, and before everything should consult his ear and thus suit the cadence to the melody [5]. This third rule marks a clear advance in which the toy-department is definitely left, and which demands of the learner that he should acquire and perfect a sense of melody by learning to choose between good and bad possibilities [6]. From this it is once more apparent that the first stage was merely a preliminary one in which the pupil was given an opportunity of training his ear and letting his fancy work. For a method like this aims at developing a clear perception of tone-letters or steps and intervals ; in other words it trains the pupil's ear to transfer tone-steps into tone-letters and tone-letters into tone-steps.

V. In this paragraph Guido states his fourth rule and rounds off his method. The pupil has a large number of possibilities before him ; he may increase this number by making use of his freedom as regards cadences and thus he will be able to compose a suitable (*apta*) melody but if he wants to produce an *aptissima cantilena*, he will have to train himself on the following points :

1. « In multis exercitatus de pluribus potiora tantum sibique aptius respondentia eligas », i. e. from the many good combinations of successive tones he should select those that combine most beautifully.

2. By now the mere combining of tones is a past stage. « Hiantia suppleas », i. e. by the ear he will correct less tuneful interval leaps and melodic transitions.

3. « Compressa resolvas », i. e. a melody that is too compressed may be loosened by being given a better phrase structure, which is done by adding one or more tones or by improving the cadence of a section.

[5] In his *De Musica* Aribo writes an able comment on this rider of Guido's to his own « rules of composition ». As the passage as given by Gerbert (*GS* II, 229) makes no sense, it is reproduced here from the critical edition (**Corpus Scriptorum de Musica**, t. II, 71) which is in the press. « Ecce quomodo omnes syllabae contra suum vocalem sunt positae, excepta *hau*, quae est in *hauriat*, ultima videlicet huius versus parte, quia *hau* posita est contra F. Quae non habet *a* vocalem, habet *u* et *e*. Et musicus causam tradit, cur ita mutaverit, quia convenientius sonat *hau* in F quam in G quae tetrardi finalis debet esse ».

[6] There was of course a special reason why Guido when choosing a final cadence on *hauriat* did not take sol-sol-sol, but the irregular fa-sol-sol. His choice is founded on the law of contrast: a tone (considered melodically, not harmonically) is most clearly confirmed by being immediately preceded by its contrasting third : here la-fa as against sol. In the present case this is the most striking contrast, as in harmony the tonic is most clearly confirmed by the preceding triads on subdominant and dominant. The contrasting third here is the third formed by the combination of the major lower and upper second. If the final tone had been fa, the final cadence sol-fa-fa-fa would not have been changed by Guido for sol-mi-fa-fa because mi does not contrast sufficiently to justify a deviation from the rule. These things are elaborated at greater length by the author in the work cited above.

4. « Producta nimium contrahas, nimis contracta extendas » [7], i. e. he will diminish the intervals where they are too large or augment them where they are too small.

The pupil who is thus guided by his musical intuition will have as his final result an « opus perfectum » and at the same time he will have given a thorough training to his ear and to his musical fancy, as Guido intended he should. In an epilogue Guido once more makes it clear that he is not schoolmastering, that his object is not merely to teach the pupil some elements of musical theory and to hammer into his brain some mechanical method of musical composition.

He proves to be a gifted musical pedagogue whose aim is to form the taste and mind of his pupils and to develop their sense of melody [8]. Speaking from experience, he says that a melody gains by being frequently sung : it undergoes a process of polishing. Moreover tastes vary, he concludes, with various kinds of people, and every one will sing that melody best which is best suited to his own taste and character. A teacher of music can hardly take up a broader standpoint towards his pupils.

After what precedes it would seem that the traditional scorn [9] reserved for this chapter is wholly unjustified ; in fact Guido should be commended for his originality and wisdom in providing a rational method of improvisation for young pupils.

No doubt the practical application of this method will meet with difficulties which did not exist at the time, because the modern ear is differently attuned. But it should not be impossible for a skilled musical pedagogue to adapt Guido's principles to modern requirements and thus obtain good results from musical improvisation at schools.

[7] Cf. IV above : « Ubi cum duabus subsonis... satis liberior facultas accedit, et productiori et contractiori pro libitu motu incedere ».

[8] Cf. I above : « Quo cum omnium omnino melorum causa claruerit, poteris tuo usui adhibere quae probaveris commoda et nihilominus respuere quae videntur obscoena ».

[9] *Hubert Wolking*, a serious student of *Micrologus*, frankly damns the chapter, which he introduces with the heading *Eine mechanische Kompositionsanweisung* : « Ein so feines musikalisches Empfinden Guidos Melodik verrät, so unverständlich und überraschend auf den ersten Blick mutet eine Anleitung zum Komponieren an, die vollkommen schematisch erwickelt wird.... Will man ihm (Guido) gerecht werden, so muss man sich in die damalige Zeit einfühlen. Es war das Bestreben Guidos, der Musikpflege eine tragfähige Mehrheit im Volke zu verschaffen. Hier musste der strenge, überzeugte Musiker zu Gunsten des berechnenden Pädagogen zum mindesten in der Methode nachgeben. Sicherlich konnte diese Idee des Vokalschemas anregend und förderend wirken, ist sie doch heute in mancherlei Form noch nicht ausgestorben. An der Echtheit des Kapitels zu rüteln, bietet sie keinen hinreichenden Grund, zumal sich Bedenken philologischer Art nicht erheben lassen » (H. Wolking, *Guidos « Micrologus de disciplina artis musicae » und seine Quellen*, Emsdetten 1930 p. 61 f).

It might be objected that the method presumes musical invention on the part of the pupil and musical talent on that of the teacher. It does. But surely this does not condemn the method nor does it supply an argument for doubting Guido's assurance when speaking from experience he proclaims his method to be « utilissimum ».

Guido's method is of such surprising originality that we need not wonder at the lack of appreciation and understanding on the part of his contemporaries and even of music teachers in later times. For centuries Guido's writings enjoyed universal esteem, but this chapter has never found favour ; few have given it any attention and those who have, have failed to understand the object the writer had in view. They concerned themselves with the initial jig-saw puzzle and ignored the most important and creative element latent in the fourth rule of the method.

Only four authors notice this chapter, all of them about the year 1100. Aribo (cf. note 5 p. 60) and the *Commentarius Anonymus in Micrologum* (ed. Vivell 90ff) [10] clear up a few passages. John of Affligem (cap. XX, *CSM* I, 127-132) gives an elaborate commentary on the chapter and adds a few examples of his own. But when he comes to the most important point, the moment when musical invention is given its freedom and the composer is thrown back on his musical intuition for an *accuratum canticum*, he suddenly stops short. After discussing the concession referred to above as the third rule, he points out the possibility of composing melodies with the help of an array of three or four different series of octaves underneath the tone-steps. The learner is thus placed before an almost endless series of possibilities, which is more likely to confuse than to help him. John is evidently aware of this danger and conditions his suggestion with the words : « nisi quod tunc nimia confusio obsisterit modulanti ».

If extravagance has a summit it surely is reached in *Liber Argumentorum* [11] where over the tone-letters the series of vowels a, e, i, o, u is repeated five times, each time with a different initial vowel; the process is then repeated under the tone-letters, after which farce [12] the writer continues: « Si quis autem hos subsonos vel supersonos studiose requirit, cognoscat pro certo quod omne quod canitur vel quod scribitur, citius ad laudem dei cantum in eos cantare potuerit ».

[10] Since none of the Mss in which this *Commentarius* has come down to us, goes beyond the middle of chapter XVII, we cannot be certain that the author ever commented on the second and most important half of it, our Part V. - Another *Micrologus* commentary entitled *Metrologus* closes in the middle of chapter XVI with « ... decrementi modorum (quo) que varias qualitates » (*GS* II, 18*a*).

[11] To be found in Mss Rome Bibl. Vat. lat. 9496 ; Bibl. Vallicell. B. 81 ; Cambridge Trinity Coll. 1441.

[12] Cf. A. de la Fage, *Essais de Diphtérographie Musicale*, Paris 1864, p. 187.

It cannot be doubted that Guido provided an occasion for misunderstandings by heading his chapter *Quod ad cantum redigitur, omne quod dicitur*. His contemporaries failed to realize that he was launching a method of musical improvisation. They understood the heading to mean that the vowels of a given text can be sung to certain tones according to a fixed pattern, so that every text can be made into a melody. No doubt Guido touches on something like this, but it is strictly limited to the first phase of his method. The method as a whole should be given the recognition that is due to it, namely that it is a first method of melodic improvisation for young pupils. Though first conceived about 1025, in the twentieth century it still retains its character of freshness, originality and soundness.

Amsterdam

THE SUMMER CANON AND ITS BACKGROUND

II.

JACQUES HANDSCHIN

Abbreviations :

AH. = *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*
AM. = *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*
B. M. = British Museum
CS. = *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series*, ed. E. de Coussemaker, 1864
DTO. = *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*
EEH. = *Early English Harmony*, ed. by H. E. Wooldridge, I, 1897
LR. = F. Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum ... et motetorum ...* I, 1, 1910 (with part of I 2 which had been printed but not published)
M. = Motetus
Mo. = Montpellier
Ms. = Manuscript
Ro. Mo. = *Polyphonies du 13me siècle, Le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, publié par Y. Rokseth (1936-1939)
Samm. = *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*
T. = Tenor
Tr. = Triplum
WMH. = *Worcester Mediaeval Harmony*, ed. by A. Hughes, 1928
ZM. = *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*

Note : For the sake of convenience I have represented B natural by *h* and B flat by *b*.

Before continuing I shall remind the benevolent reader of the headings of my first six chapters which are : I. *The contents of the Ms.; handwritings* (p. 56) ; II. *The notation* (p. 69) ; III. *The question of binary rhythm* (p. 72) ; IV. *The historical position of the Summer Canon* (p. 78) ; V. *Does « rota » mean circular canon ?* (p. 82) ; VI. *The lost Reading collection ; Worcester and Montpellier questions* (p. 88). After which I ask him to make some corrections and additions (leaving aside the obvious misprints), since references were left blank and some additional information has since come forth.

P. 38, line 13 : Dr. Bukofzer appears to fall into the same confusion in his study on the Summer Canon, p. 88.

P. 57, line 4 : the calendar in B. M., Cotton Vesp. E V. Mr. B. Schofield has kindly informed me that he would not say that it is written by the same hand as the calendar in our Ms., B. M. Harley 978, as had been said, *Palaeographical Society* III 125, but he feels reasonably certain that they are contemporary.

P. 60, line 8 from bottom : the reference is to Vol. V p. 67 f.

P. 61, line 9 : the reference is to V p. 76 f.

P. 62, line 10 from bottom : the reference is to V p. 85 and 87.

P. 64, line 8 : the reference is to V p. 84.

P. 67, last paragraph : the distribution of handwrittings in the musical section of our Ms. Mr. Schofield has informed me that he does not agree with me in this respect, although he would not like to commit himself to any final classification. Yet we are probably in agreement in so far as the handwritings are not far from each other in time. I fear that if I was inclined to assign one of these handwritings to the second half of the 13th c., it was under the influence of continental examples.

P. 68, line 7. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Schofield I have had a photograph of f. 15'-16, i. e., the calendar. It seems to me impossible to assume that the script of the calendar is earlier than that (or those) of the musical section. At the same time there is a similarity in the writing style of the calendar and, say, f. 12 and 13.

P. 77, line 2. Instead of « look for the passage CS. I 244a to illustrate », please read : « seek in the passage CS. I 244a an illustration of ».

P. 77, line 20 from bottom. Among the details of this transcription subject to discussion is this, whether it was right to write triplets.

P. 77, line 17 from bottom : the reference is to V p. 71.

P. 79, line 17 and 16 from bottom : I beg to cancel the passage « note ... Wales ».

P. 80, line 13 : « by the archives ».

P. 91, line 11 from bottom. Another correction of Ludwig's readings which I noted is *Ecce virgo jam complete* (3, 33), instead of *completa*.

P. 93, line 11 from bottom : the reference is to V p. 88.

P. 94, end of first paragraph. Mr. Schofield informs me that, as he sees no other solution to the abbreviation than « Ordo libri », which he takes as referring to the whole collection, he prefers alternative 2b to 2a.

P. 94, line 6 from bottom : the reference is to V p. 67 f.

After which we continue with our chapter VI.

Worcester questions.

Of course we cannot deal definitively with the Worcester fragments so long as their whole contents have not been analysed. I shall only return to the question of concordances between Wo. and other collections, provisionally reviewed in ZM. XIV 58-61. On the whole the list of these concordances is very limited and concerns mainly motets. WMH. No. 45 (whose beginning is, as noted by

Bukofzer, p. 108, *Candens crescit lilium*, not *Gaudens*) recurs in Cambridge, Pembroke 228 (fly leaves from ca. 1300). Yet we shall restrict ourselves to the concordances between Wo. and Mo.

A) The case of WMH. No. 20 being an earlier form of Mo. 8,339 has already been alluded to. This motet occurs in Wo. twice: 1) in the fragment Wo. XXVIII, photographs of which are included in Oxford, Bodl. lat. lit. d 20 (the page with our motet being there f. 9′, part of which is reproduced in facsimile WMH. p. 71) ; 2) on f. c′ of the fragment formerly contained in Oxford, Magd. Coll. 100, now transferred to Worcester Cathedral and marked as Add. XXXV (« M » in WMH.). Both contain only the Tr. and the T,. but the M. must not have been lacking, since it completes the Tr. by voice exchange. Both fragments seem to be from the early 14th c. While the text in Mo. is *Alle psallite cum luja* — tropic to the Alleluja and, therefore, applicable wherever the Alleluja was sung —, it is in Wo. a Marian text, *Ave magnifica Maria* ; the word Alleluja occurs in both Wo. Mss. only in the T. of the first part — the part precisely corresponding to the Mo. motet — and, as we shall see, in the continuation.

The form of this motet, as analysed by F. Ludwig (Samm. V 220), is :

Tr. :	a b	a_1 b_1	a_2 b_2
M. :	b a	b_1 a_1	b_2 b_2
T. :	c c	c_1 c_1	c_2 c_2

with a Coda of 3 bars set to the word Alleluja ; the periods b, b_1 and b_2 are melismatical, which is characteristic of the English « rondellus » (s. above, III p. 82 f). In « M » the composition does not extend further than this, but a continuation is evidently supposed. By the way, this version stands apart in so far as it is transposed to the upper fourth and to the *g* mode, yet it is possible that *h* has to be sung as *b*, and in this case it would be the *d* mode in transposed form. Fortunately the continuation is preserved in Wo. XXVIII. After the Coda of 3 bars (set here to the words *ave Maria* and ending on the note *e*, not *d* as in Mo.) follow three phrases rhyming with *-io* : *Alleluja Post et in puerperio* ; the T. to this is missing, but since the T. of the first part is provided only with the syllables *Alle-*, it is probable that the second half of the T. was written to *-luja* on the opposite page below the M. ; this part of the motet ends on *d* ; voice exchange seems no more to be used. As observed ZM. XIV 58, the T. of the first part looks like a paraphrase of the Gregorian Alleluja introducing the verse *Post partum virgo* ; since the text is in the first part ruled by the *a-* and in the second by the *o*-assonance, we may assume that both parts form a tropic motet, based on the Alleluja and the first three words of this verse (in which case the syllables set below the second part of the T. would

rather be *-luja Post partum virgo*). The relation between the T., of which we possess only the first part, and the liturgical melody is most interesting. We may doubt whether the composer who shaped the phrases marked above as c, c_1 and c_2, took as model the whole of the Alleluja melody which is composed of four phrases, or single phrases of it ; but that he was inspired by it is sure. It is curious that the method of making the consecutive phrases increase in length is realized already in the liturgical melody. At the same time the composer endows his T. with increased tonal stringency in ending it (i. e., the second part) on *d*, while the liturgical melody ends on *e*. Yet he has not failed to avail himself of the alternation of *d* and *e* as Finales, as is done in the liturgical melody. The Mo. version which represents only the first part, but in ending it on *d*, is in comparison to this an extract in which the tonal tendency is still urged.

But even these two parts seem to be in Wo. only part of a larger system. There follows the motet *Post partum virgo integra inviolata* with T. *Post partum virgo inviolata* (WMH. No. 28) — tropic only to the verse of our Alleluja, and to the whole verse ; the T., of which again a part (corresponding to the words *permansisti dei genitrix*) is missing (since it was written on the opposite page), ends with *intercede ad dominum Jesum Christum*, instead of *intercede pro nobis*. The T. melody is clearly that of the verse and not even paraphrased, but rather subjected to free measured rhythm (an allowance must of course always be made for divergences of the melodic tradition). Yet the close of the T., beginning in the third syllable of *intercede*, is again paraphrase ; it is related to the closing melism of the verse which is, as usual, the melism of the Alleluja ; but the paraphrase is not the same as in the first part. This ends again on *d*, as against the liturgical close on *e*.

We may assume that after WMH. No. 28 No. 20 (or, then, the liturgical Alleluja sung in unison) was repeated. Both motets together form a remarkable example of polyphony inspired by the liturgical melody, thus foreshadowing methods of the 15th and 16th c. and, at the same time, « tropic » in the old sense. Mo. 8, 339 is no more than a splinter of this system ; we may assume that the first part of WMH. No. 20 with its voice exchange had aroused pleasure and curiosity and accordingly it was taken out from the whole and provided with a *passepartout* text, instead of one related to the given Alleluja verse.

The assumption of the English provenance of this motet (as to which cf. ZM. XIV 57 f.) is admitted with some hesitation by Ro. Mo. IV 90-92, 180 and 205. We may add that the device of providing an Alleluja with a tropic text of general character, as in Mo. 8, 339, was known in Worcester, as is shown by WMH. No. 29,

Alleluja psallat hec familia. (The version of this motet, as reproduced in WMH., may admit of some discussion, especially as concerns the text of the T.; yet it shows clearly that the structure is analogous to Mo. 8, 339, except that the melismatic Alleluja Coda is much longer).

B) Of the three concordances connecting Wo. with the 4th fascicle of Mo. one (already touched upon, III p. 94) concerns Mo. 4, 62. WMH. No. 27 is a « Choralbearbeitung » for three voices, different from the analogous Notre Dame composition, while the motet *Ex semine Abrahe* inserted in it uses the music of a part of a Notre Dame Choralbearbeitung. The Wo. version of this motet limits itself to set a new text under the two upper voices of the « Clausula ». Other forms of this motet are: 1) one for two voices, leaving out the Tr. and contained in the Notre Dame Ms. F, 2) one providing the Tr. with a special text, Mo. 4, 62 (cf. LR. 113 etc.). Since both upper voices are rhythmically parallel, there was no need to give the Tr. a text of its own; we may therefore consider the Wo. version as the oldest, as it is nearest to the « Choralbearbeitung » in F. In this case Worcester would be tributary to Notre Dame and, at the same time, connected with a very old stratum of motet history. The period closes in the upper voices throughout coincide with closes in the T.

C) *Sed fulsit,* the M. of Mo. 4, 68, is (see WMH. No. 69) contained in the fragment Wo. XX (which seems to be from the early 14th c.) with a « Primus tenor », while in Mo. it is associated with the Tr. *Super te* and the T. *Dominus.* This motet was also contained in the lost Reading collection in whose register the Tr. is listed (see above, III p. 88). LR. 275, writing when the Worcester fragments were not yet known, doubted whether this Incipit would refer to our Tr., but he admitted it in AM. V 274[2]. The « Primus tenor » of the Wo. version is evidently not liturgical. We cannot be sure of whether the Tr. and the T., missing in Wo., were those present in Mo., yet both these voices as they stand here would, at least, fit those preserved in Wo. Ro. Mo IV 205 urges that the existence of two tenors, as supposed in Wo., would not be possible before « une date assez avancée du 14-me siècle »; but a motet with two tenors exists already in the Bamberg Ms. edited by P. Aubry (No. 92). Now looking at the chords of our motet, as it stands in Mo., we are struck by the large number of fourths, i. e., unsustained fourths which, at the same time, cannot be explained as appoggiaturas to the third (cf. below, p. 79); and precisely these fourths are sustained or « covered » in the Wo. version by the « Primus tenor ». It seems therefore difficult to escape the conclusion that the Mo. version is a reduced one, although that may seem audacious and although the last chord would, in this case, be a full triad including the third

(cf. below, p. 79). There are some other characteristics which could point to the English origin of our motet (cf. Ro. Mo. IV 205) : a certain freedom in the treatment of the liturgical melody in the *Dominus* T. (it is true that this does not go far : the melody being adduced twice, some notes are in the second exposition repeated or, on the contrary, the repetition of notes as standing in the melody is dropped) ; a rudiment of voice exchange in bars 1-4 and 25-28 ; an old-fashioned heavy conductus rhythm in the upper voices, where the music follows the third mode but the syllables are rather in the fifth mode, i. e., they coincide in general with the perfection. Ro. Mo. IV 180 and 205 seems not disinclined to admit the English origin of Mo. 4, 68 and, still more remarkable, F. Ludwig (AM. V 274[2]) had thought that the occurrence of it in two English sources, as well as its peculiarities, could indicate English provenance. Of these peculiarities he points out one which is curious : the text of the M. is just the continuation of that of the Tr. (a fact which, by the way, would support the assumption that the Tr. missing in Wo. was that preserved in Mo.) ; this reminds us of a predominantly English usage of the 15th c., according to which the Credo text was sometimes distributed between two voices (it is true that in these cases it is not one voice which sings the first half of the text and the other the second part, but the voices complete each other phrase by phrase ; see, e. g., the Credo by Dunstable reproduced in J. Wolf's *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation*, No. 73).

There is an uncertainty concerning the rhythm of the « first T. » of Wo., since the M. is in third mode and the T. begins with a ternary and a binary ligature which, according to orthodox modal notation as elucidated by LR 44 ff., would indicate first mode. The difficulty may be evaded in different ways, among which we provisionally choose that of assuming unorthodox writing.

D) There is the remarkable case of Mo. 4, 51 (Tr. *Conditio nature defuit*, M. *O natio nefandi generis*, T. taken from the sequence *Mane prima sabbati*), being in relation to WMH. No. 37. My suspicion that the Mo. version could be English was with some reserve accepted by Ro. Mo. IV 180 and 204 f. The following peculiarities may be taken as indications :

a) the T. takes its melody from a sequence which is possibly English (cf. AH. LIV 217 f.) and this melody is freely treated, the arrangement being approximately this : sequence versicle 1 (motet bars 1-3), v. 2 (b. 4-6), v. 3 (b. 7-9), v. 1 and 2 in varied form (b. 9-12 and 12-15), v. 3 with appendix (b. 16-18 and 19-21) ; v. 4 (b. 22-24), v. 5 (b. 25-27), v. 6 (b. 28-30), v. 4 (b. 30-33), v. 4 in varied form (b. 33-36), v. 5 (b. 36-39), v. 6 (b. 39-42) ; v. 1 (b. 43-45), v. 2 (b. 46-48), v. 3 (b. 49-51), v. 4 (b. 52-54), v. 5 with transition

(b. 55-57) v. 6 with appendix (b. 58-61 and 61-63) (this is in substance the analysis given ZM. X 517 with some modifications proposed by Ro. Mo. IV 204 f. ; the sequence melody may be found in C. A. Moberg's *Schwedische Sequenzen* II No. 8, where the variants must also be taken in account) ; the freedom which the composer takes with the sequence melody manifests itself also in the fact that his rests do not always coincide with a versicle close ;

b) although the incisions of the voices do not coincide in the same manner as in *Ave gloriosa* (the English version of Mo. 4, 53, see above, III p. 64) and although both upper voices have a different text, there is a fundamental concordance of structure between M. and Tr. which has struck F. Ludwig (Samm. V 189 f. and 218) : the texts of both have the same metrical form (one being a meditation upon the mysteries of Christ's birth and passion, the other a challenge to the Jews to be converted and at the same time, as has been noted by H. Villetard in *Rassegna gregoriana* IX 441, a paraphrase of II. Cor. 3 and reminiscent of the sequence *Letabundus*, both texts being therefore conveniently grafted upon a T. taken from an Easter sequence) ; the Tr. is throughout a double bar behind the M., this distance being filled by one melismatical bar in the Tr. at every start of the scheme (bars 1, 22 and 43) ; and since the M. and Tr. have in bars 21 and 42 simultaneous period closes in which the T. joins with them, the motet comprises three distinct parts, the third standing out the more, as it uses verses of 13 syllables and periods of 5 bars, as against verses of 10 syllables and periods of 4 bars in the first and second part (cf. above, III p. 63, as to the two contrasting parts in *Ave gloriosa*) ;

c) there is another curious coincidence : W. Niemann who dealt with this motet (*Ueber die abweichende Bedeutung der Ligaturen*, 1902, p. 138) finds in the notation of the third mode as practised here a detail which he explains, and which can indeed be explained, as a remnant of binary measure : where 2 notes fall on the 3rd element of the third mode formula, i. e., the « Brevis altera », they are sometimes written as a ligature « cum opposita proprietate » which signifies properly two Semibreves.

According to a survey of the ligature forms in Mo. by L. Dittmer, not yet published, the same phenomenon occurs in Nrs. 11 and 12 of our Mo. list (below, p. 76 f) and in the following motets not included in our list : Mo. 4, 56, 5, 98, 5, 109, 5, 120, all these being in the third mode, while it occurs only once on the « Longa imperfecta » of the first mode (Mo. 2, 22) and twice in cases where some doubts as to the mode are possible (Mo. 3, 42 and 5, 98) ; it is mentioned by Pseudo-Aristotle, CS. I 274a, only in connection with the *Brevis altera*, i. e., the third mode. Our motet was, as noted by F. Ludwig, AM. V 203 f., written precisely in binary measure in the Darmstadt fragments (which were probably

written in Germany), but afterwards the binary third mode was changed to ternary. Indeed I do not see what this motet would lose when sung in binary rhythm. That it is an old one is confirmed by the fact that it is quoted in the oldest extant treatise about measured music, the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, CS. I 97, as an example of the third mode, ternary measure being, of course, presupposed. I refer to what has been said about binary rhythm above, III p. 73 ff. By the way, the name *Brevis altera* seems in itself to indicate that the third mode had been binary. I do not of course think that binary measure had not existed in France, cf. below p. 79 f, but the impression is that the mensural theory with its claim to exclusively ternary measure had there succeeded more in obliterating divergent features.

Turning to the version contained in the Worcester fragment Add. XXXV, f. b′ (WMH. No. 37), we must state that the connection between both versions is relatively loose. F. Ludwig (AM. V 278) found that they have the Tr. text and the beginning of the T. melody in common ; Dom Anselm Hughes, the editor of WMH., found them « different but not dissimilar ». Again only the Tr. and T. are preserved in Wo. They are sufficient for showing that both versions manifest affinities and at the same time structural divergences. The T. which has no mark of provenance takes its material from the same sequence *Mane prima* as Mo. 4, 51, but even with more freedom : it is composed of only two periods which are Ostinato-like repeated throughout, the first being a modified contraction of the first two versicles, and the second corresponding to the third versicle enlarged by the close of the second versicle ; both periods are of 5 bars and, since they differ in their first half, the second remaining identical, there is an affinity with the Estampie form. Both periods close on *d* and the effect of the incessant repetition would be intolerable if the Tr. formed its periods parallel with the T., but it bridges the closes of the T. periods according to the normal motet method. The text of the Tr. is the same as in Mo. ; but while there the verses of 10 syllables correspond to periods of 4 bars and those of 13 syllables to periods of 5 bars as we have seen, here the length of the periods is variable ; the period close does not always coincide with the end of the verse ; sometimes it avails itself of the internal rhyme dividing the verse, and often syllables are stretched in the manner of the Conductus, with the result that the composition is of 80 bars, instead of 63 as in Mo. What the Wo. M. was we do not know, but it could not have been identical with that in Mo. As to rhythm the Wo. version presents an interesting problem. It is predominantly third mode, as Mo., and it might very possibly be binary. But at some period closes (*succubuit, profuit, nocuit*) appear small melisms which can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as first mode ; now if our third mode is binary, that

would mean the transition from binary to ternary division in the Tr. and the simultaneity of ternary in the Tr. and binary in the T., the value of the Longa remaining the same ; even if our third mode is ternary, these combinations would be sufficiently heterodox (cf. the notion of « metrical rhythmics » as suggested above, III p. 76 f). We have to remember that the question of binary rhythm in the Wo. fragments requires a special study (cf. ZM. XIV 55 and 57).

Without giving reasons Ludwig says that in the Wo. version « the Tr. text of an *older* motet has found a *new* musical form ». It is very possible that the Mo. version is the older one, but the case being so peculiar, we had better postpone our judgment. At any rate, it seems probable that both versions are of English provenance.

Montpellier questions.

Leaving a definitive study of the Worcester fragments to a younger colleague, I beg now to turn to the question of the English contribution to Mo. We have quoted the following motets as having a claim to being considered as English :

1) *Ave gloriosa* (Mo. 4, 53) in the presumably older form it has in the Summer Canon Ms., B. M. Harley 978.

2) *Alle psallite* (Mo. 8, 339) in the presumably older form it has in Wo. (*Ave magnifica Maria*), but without excluding in this case the Mo. form.

3) *Sed fulsit* (Mo. 4, 68).

4) *Conditio nature* in both forms, that in Mo. 4, 51 and in Wo.

To these we may add (yet without any pretention to completeness) the following.

5 and 6) Mo. 8, 340 (Tr. and M. *Balaam inquit*, T. *Balaam* taken from the sequence *Epiphaniam domino*) and Mo. 8, 341 (Tr. and M. *Huic ut placuit*, T. *Huic magi* from the same sequence). They have been brilliantly analysed by Ludwig, Samm. V 220 ff. In the first whose T. is constructed as aab aab aab aab, the repetition aa is used for exchanging the upper voices and, moreover, the fourth part exchanges the upper voices with the third, thus superposing voice exchange to voice exchange. The first, third and fourth part are melismatic and only the second syllabic, yet even in the latter, syllabic in one voice coincides with melismatic in the other (see above, p. 67). In 8, 341 the T. being EEEE, the upper voices are $\begin{matrix} AB\ CD \\ BA\ DC' \end{matrix}$ A being syllabic and the rest melismatic. Now the only other Ms. in which both motets occur is English : Oxford New College 362 (apparently from the early 14th c.), f. 86 ; as noted by Ro. Mo. IV 90, it contains only the M., both motets being written

as one. We have further to remember that the three motets Mo. 8, 339-341 are the only ones in Mo. where both upper voices have the same text — a feature that could seem « reactionary » in the light of the 13th c. and yet was « progressive » with regard to the music of the 15th. In our case the text is of course exchanged between the voices, with the corresponding melody. We may add that in one of the motets adduced below (Mo. 7, 300) the text is *nearly* the same in both upper voices (which, in musical respect, use rhythmical imitation instead of exchange) ; and in another, quoted above (p. 71, Mo. 4, 51), both texts have the same metrical structure, while in one case (Mo. 4, 68, above p. 70) the M. text continues that of the Tr. As to rhythmics, the upper voices of Mo. 8, 340 and 341 are rather « modern », since they largely use the sixth mode and often set two syllables to one Brevis.

My suggestion as to the English origin of Mo. 8, 339-341 was rather benevolently received by Y. Rokseth. She went on to interpret my words « Mo. 8, 339-341, to which Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique,* No. 25 (= Mo. 7, 300) and some *other* Mo. motets have possibly to be added » (ZM. XIV 58) as applicable to Mo. 7, 275, 8, 322 and 8, 343 (Ro. Mo. IV 88). As to these, I confess to be less confident about 8, 343 (see below, p. 77). As to the other six (339-341, 300, 275, 322) we may add that they had already been viewed as one group by H. Besseler (AM. VIII 180). We have now to look at 300, 275 and 322.

7) Coussemaker No. 25 is Mo. 7, 300 (not 8, 322, as stated by Ro. Mo. IV 88). Here both upper voices have nearly the same text, in so far as every verse recited by the M. is repeated by the Tr. in (textual) imitation and only the first verse lacks in the M. (with the consequence that the beginning of the M. text, *Salve sancta parens,* is just the continuation of the Tr. beginning *Salve virgo virginum*). The T. being repeated four times, the motet is divided into four parts, and of these the first and fourth are melismatic. As to the relation between the upper voices, one isolated note in one voice is opposed to a double bar in the other, as in the case mentioned above, p. 71 ; yet this time the method is applied in a more systematic way : both voices proceed by periods of 3 + 1 bars and they are reciprocally shifted by 2 bars, which produces rhythmical imitation (this being partly also melodical) ; yet in the fourth part they proceed by periods of 2 bars overlapping by 1 bar (cf. the analysis by F. Ludwig, Samm. V, 218-220). The T. is closely connected with the M., since 3 + 1 in the M. always coincide with 2 + 2 in the T., and in the fourth part 2 in the M. with 2 in the T., — the Tr. being shifted in relation to both lower voices, as we have seen. Taking the notion of « isoperiodical motet » as I think we must (i. e., meaning an analogous disposition of the periods

of the upper voices within every T. section, see below, p. 84 and 85), we see that our motet is isoperiodical in its first three parts.

The best way to illustrate these rhythmical circumstances would be by graphical figures (cf. my *Musikgeschichte*, p. 202). I must observe that the notion of « isoperiodicity », as applied here, is a relational one, the relation being between the rhythmical form of one section of the upper voices and that of one T. section ; therefore « isoperiodical » has the meaning of « analogoperiodical ». We do not exclude that the word may be applied also to one single voice which forms equal periods, or groups of periods, but that is not the isoperiodical *motet* ; if, on the other hand, the rhythmical grouping of the T. is *identical* with that of the upper voices, we had better speak of motets with simultaneous incisions (cf. above, III p. 64) rather than of isoperiodical motets, since analogy is better realized when it does not confound with identity (logically the latter, which is embodied in some of our motets, may be included in the former as a special, or as an extreme case, they may even have a common root, yet we must nevertheless distinguish).

In this « primitive » stage of isoperiodicity the T. section taken as unity of measure corresponds to one T. « Durchführung », i. e., it is related not only to the rhythmical but also to the melodical structure of the T. Later on the isoperiodical section corresponded to a group of T. periods *not* coinciding with one T. « Durchführung » : in the example by Ph. de Vitry quoted *Musikgeschichte*, p. 201, there are three isoperiodical sections, each corresponding to a group of 4 T. periods, while there are two Durchführungen, each comprising 6 T. periods. Then, with G. de Machaut and his successors, the section is in general only one T. period and, consequently, part of a « Durchführung » ; but at this epoch isoperiodical structure has already grown to isorhythmical, the T. periods have grown longer, and the « Durchführungen » superposed to them are mostly in different rhythm ; yet « isorhythmical », as applied to the motet, remains still a relational notion. In our « primitive » stage, where the isoperiodical sections are at the same time isomelodical in the T., the method seems more intelligible and « natural » than afterwards. See below, p. 78 and 84 and 85 and 90.

8) In Mo. 7, 275 (Tr. *Jamjam nubes*, M. *Jam novum sidus*, T. *Solem*) the T. melody is again expounded four times, the first part of the motet being melismatic. The texts of the upper voices are not identical, yet similar and assonant. The rhythmical structure of this motet is exactly the same as in 7, 300, the difference being only that while there the first and fourth parts were melisms, here it is only the first. Again rhythmical imitation passes into melodical ; there are even melodical affinities between both motets. Since most of the verses begin with *Jam* and this falls on the one bar periods which alternate with the three bar periods, the word *Jam* stands out like a textual *Leitmotiv*, quoted every two bars in one voice. It is interesting that in the Oxford Ms. quoted above, p. 73,

a motet with exactly the same texts occurs on f. 83 and, as observed by Ro. Mo. IV, 90, the syllable *Jam* is rendered prominent in the same way. The T. is missing in this Ms., but I am nearly sure that it was :

d d c d f g f e d | g g f g a f e d c ,

these two phrases alternating according to the scheme ABABA ; as every note falls on one Perfectio, there are five sections of 9 bars each, corresponding to 2 ½ « Durchführungen ». Again the first of the five sections is melism ; and in the central part, corresponding here to the second, third and fourth sections, 3 + 1 or, rather, 1 + 3 alternate in both voices at a distance of two bars, the word *Jam* standing out as in the Mo. motet. One cannot help finding in the mutual relation of these motets an analogy to that which exists between both compositions of *Conditio nature* (see above, p. 73). H. Anglès, who has edited the Huelgas version of Mo. 7, 275 (*El Codex de Las Huelgas*, No. 133), in his commentary finds the Oxford motet younger, and that is probable for rhythmical reasons.

9) Mo. 8, 322 (Tr. *Marie assumptio*, M. *Hujus chori*, T. not marked) has a great melism at the beginning and at the end ; in this case the analogy to the Conductus is the more marked, as the introductory melism, the syllabic part and the postlude have each their own T. melody. In the prelude this is A, in the syllabic part BB, in the postlude cc dd ee ff ; if there is a preexistent melody, it must be a secular or even an instrumental one, as the major tonality is conspicuous in it. In the middle part again one note in one voice is sometimes opposed to a double bar in the other.

10) The Tr. of Mo. 4, 70 (Tr. *In odorem fragrat*, M. *In odoris miro*, T. *In odorem*) is preserved also on the fly-leaves of Oxford, Corpus Christi 86, where it is incomplete and written in « English measured notation » (rhombs for Breves) probably in the 13th c. The Tr. text is addressed to Mary, the M. text to S. Andrew (a saint much honoured in Great Britain and especially in Scotland) ; since the T. is taken from an Alleluja devoted to S. Andrew, we may assume that our M. is the original one. The freedom in the treatment of the T. melody, alluded to by Ro. Mo. IV 180 and 205, is very limited : while in the liturgical melody *in* is represented by one element, a, and *odorem* by bb cc d, the T. is a bbb cc d. We have to add that the motet ends with a melism.

11) Mo. 4, 69 (Tr. *Ave parens prolis*, M. *Ad gratie matris*, T. *Ave Maria* taken from the Offertory). It is likely that, as LR 277 has assumed, an Incipit in the Reading list refers to our M. This motet displays a certain similarity with 4, 70 ; it has a small final melism. In this motet and the next one the same interesting notational anomaly occurs as in Mo. 4, 51 (see above, p. 71).

12) In Mo. 4, 72 (Tr. *Salve mater misericordie*, M. *Salve regina*,

T. *Flos filius*) the liturgical melody is handled with more freedom than in 4, 70, but with less than in 4, 53 (*Ave gloriosa*) ; it is the same melody as in 4, 53 (see above, III p. 60 f). In order to state it more clearly than does Ro.Mo. IV 204, we may say that the melody in the T. is disposed in this way : *flos filius ejus, -us ejus* (but in dropping a sequence of 5 notes), *-us ejus* (with modification of 3 notes and enlargment of the close). The rhythm of the M. (which borrows its text from the Antiphon) is, as to music, third mode, while the syllables follow rather the fifth mode (cf. below, p. 78). In one passage the M. passes over to the first mode, musical and syllabical, which may either be explained as misinterpretation of an original written in unmeasured notation, or be paralleled with a Worcester motet, quoted above, p. 72.

A propos of *Ave gloriosa* (Mo. 4, 53) with its paraphrased T., Ro. Mo. IV 205 had already observed that the T. is treated with some freedom also in Mo. 4, 68 and 70, and p. 204 she adduced in the same sense 4, 72 ; p. 205 she added that some motets of the group 4, 68 ff. (the 4th fascicle ends with 72) occur in Eglish Mss. while exhibiting some common features (which ?) ; and p. 180 she said that, some freedom existing in the T. arrangement of Mo. 4, 70, this may perhaps point to English provenance, and that the group 4, 67-70 have not only features in common (which ?), but are connected with English Mss. by concordances. Now in looking at the list Ro. Mo. IV 100 (which is, of course, mainly compiled from Ludwig) we see that only 4, 68 is marked as appearing in an English collection and 4, 69 in the Reading list. In the whole the 6 motets 4, 67-72 may, then, be considered as « candidates ». Among these, 68, 70 and 69 (Nos. 4, 10 and 11 in our list) are connected by concordances with English Mss. and 72 (No. 12 of our list) is marked by rather special features. The question of 4, 67 and 71 may be left in suspense.

As said above (p. 74), Y. Rokseth supposed also Mo. 8, 343 to be included in my « suspicion » ; but although there is a melism at the beginning and at the end, I see no other argument pointing to English provenance.

Yet Ro. Mo. IV 85 f. made me a further present in formulating the hypothesis that 9 other motets from Mo. 8 may be English (304, 308, 315, 324, 326, 327, 329, 336, 344), and that for two reasons : they are rhythmically old-fashioned, since they do not use the innovations considered by H. Besseler as Franconian (the employment of another rhythmical mode in the Tr. than in the M., mostly the sixth mode, and the use of smaller note values) ; and in one of them (327) the text ends with *Nos regens in hac insula* which, as she thinks, would be difficult to explain otherwise than by English origin. I confess that neither of these arguments seems to me very strong (*insula* can refer not only to Great Britain, but to a house standing alone, i. e., a monastery). As to other indications pointing in this direction, we may note the following. In 308 the T. exhibits that coexistence of syllabic fifth mode with musical third which we have already met (cf. below, p. 78), yet the M. is regular third mode.

In 315 the T. contains 5 « Durchführungen » of 7 bars each and the Tr. has (except the first Durchführung) also periods of 7 bars, which are shifted by one bar in relation to the T. ; this constitutes an element of « isoperiodicity » (cf. above, p. 75) ; but the M. is irregular. In 327 both texts have the same beginning, being at the same time assonant with the T. text-mark ; this may at least be considered as old-fashioned. In 344 the T. has three « Durchführungen », each composed of three periods at 2 bars, and the structure of the M. is quite the same ; in the first and second section the Tr. has its incisions in the third and fifth bar, in the third section in the first, third and fourth bars. Two of the motets listed (326 and 336) have French texts, but that would not wholly exclude English provenance. The question of this group may, then, be left in suspense.

* * *

May, then, Mo. 4, 67 and 71 be included in our list or not? We have already sufficient reasons for assuming that there is at the end of Mo. 4 a group of motets which may be English ; and, at the commencement of this fascicle, 4, 51 and 53 are in the same position. As is known, the second fascicle of Mo. contains French motets in 4 parts, the third Latin-French motets in 3, the fourth Latin motets in 3, the fifth French motets in 3, the sixth French motets in 2, while the contents of the seventh and eighth fascicles are mixed as to language ; therefore motets of English provenance are more likely to occur in the fourth and in the last two fascicles. Of these the eighth is in our perspective more conspicuous than the seventh. Its mixed character has sometimes been observed ; while the first six seem to be written in the neighbourhood of Paris and the seventh was, at any rate, early added to them, the eighth fascicle was originally independent (see Ro.Mo. IV 26 and 85). The seventh fascicle seems to be more distinctly French in character than the eighth, as it contains those motets whose Tr. engages farthest in the use of small note values ; at the same time many Tripla of the seventh fascicle display, as noted by Ludwig (Samm. V 213 f.), a very irregular shaping of periods, while the eighth returns to greater regularity.

In general we may say that the motets which might be suspected as being of English origin are very often in the third mode, this mode appearing in many cases only in the note values, while the syllables follow the heavy rhythm of the fifth mode (see above, p. 70 and 77 and 77 and below p. 84 and 86) ; the texts are often addressed to the mother of Christ ; and they are often anxious to preserve at the beginning and the close that assonance with the words originally belonging to the T., which points back to the old « tropic » motet (cf. above, p. 67 and 78 ; also our items Nos. 12 and 13 are conspicuous in this respect). Evidently the problem

which we have raised can be definitively solved only by taking in account the stylistic symptoms in connection with the provenance of the Mss.

One may perhaps wonder why I have not taken in account, as criterion, the relative rôle played by the third as consonance. Yet apart from the fact that my survey is incomplete, we must remember that a relative acknowledgment of the third is not exclusively limited to England but appears even in some French quarters, while it does not appear everywhere in England (as to the eleventh fascicle of W_1, cf. *The Musical Times* 1933, 704). Among the Mo. motets of our list there are in reality only two which are relatively prominent in the use of the third and the triad, i. e., our numbers 10 and 11, and the same may be said to a lesser degree of No. 4 (as to which this peculiarity had been noted by W. Niemann in his study about ligatures, p. 140) and No. 13. We may remember that Anonymus IV (in CS. I) is not unlimitedly tolerant of the third ; and from the way in which he speaks of Western Englishmen it is probable that he is an Easterner (cf. p. 358 « Westcuntre », 363b « homines occidentales » ; that would agree with the fact that the Ms. in which his treaty is preserved, B. M. Royal 12 C VI, comes from Bury S. Edmunds, as well as with the names of English musicians which he quotes, cf. WMH. p. 27) ; now it is rather to the Westerners that he ascribes the licence of admitting the third as final chord (cf. p. 363b, 358b and 355a).

It is interesting to note that there are in Mo. a dozen of motets for 3 voices beginning with a third, yet in general the third plays no rôle in the continuation. One of the exceptions is a motet with two French texts, Mo. 5, 168, notable also with regard to its major tonality, its probably secular T. (inscribed *Valare* but till now not identified), the simultaneousness of period closes, and the rhythm (the syllables being mostly equivalent to Longae). Another dozen of motets beginning with the third are for 2 voices, and here the third sometimes alternates with the unison in the manner reminiscent of what has been described as Gymel (cf. Mo. 6, 179, which is also in a « popular » mood and has coinciding period closes). None of the motets of our list is among those beginning with a third.

We must add about 16 motets beginning with a fourth, 10 of them being for 2 voices and 6 for 3 (of course I mean the unsustained fourth, the one above the lowest voice). One could, it is true, assert that the unsustained fourth ought not to be paralleled with the use of the third but opposed to it, since the treatment of the fourth as consonance on equal rights with the fifth is an archaic feature, and it was precisely the rise of the third as a consonance which made the fourth to be considered as a dissonance. Yet in reality things are a little more involved. The initial fourth appears in many of our cases to be an appoggiatura « resolving » into the third. (See *Appendix* III). In general we may say that the motets characterized by the third or fourth as initial chord are often of the category of those representing a « popular » mood.

Among those motets beginning with a fourth is Mo. 5, 164, a motet with Chanson T. and two French texts in the upper voices, remarkable

furthermore because it has long since been recognized as being in binary rhythm. Here is also No. 3 of our list, in which, however, the numerous fourths seem to be merely the result of a missing fourth voice (cf. above, p. 69 f).

What has been said does however not exclude the value of the third as a criterion in other cases, thus if we are, e. g., engaged in a first attempt to single out the English contribution to the contents of the « Notre Dame Ms. » W_1.

* * *

13) I think that we may yet extract from the motets beginning with a fourth a further one which may be suspected to be English : Mo. 4, 65 (in which both upper voices begin with *Si vere vis adherere*, while the T. is *In seculum*), although there is no English source to record (or, then, we must consider a Boulogne Ms. as « nearly English »). The upper voices (whose texts are largely assonant) pause simultaneously (but not simultaneously with the T.). The syllables proceed, as in Mo. 4, 68 (above, p. 70), largely in Longae, i. e., in fifth mode ; the affinity of the fifth mode with the third is in this case not so apparent, since the splitting up of the Perfectio concerns not only the second, but also the first Longa of the double bar. Another peculiarity of Mo. 4, 65 is that there is a passage in first mode (bars 5-6), as in the Worcester pendant to Mo. 4, 51 (cf. above, p. 72). Not only the fourth leading to the third occurs several times, but also the third at places where it is not usual.

14) The last items of our list will be, one from the seventh and one from the fourth fascicle. The first, Mo. 7, 285 (Tr. *Ave regina*, M. *Alma redemptoris*, T. *Alma*), was already proposed by me as a candidate in *Acta* VI 109 (where a misprint occurred in line 11, as Bamberg No. 77 and not 74 is meant). Ro.Mo. IV does not seem to take notice of this, although H. Besseler had already been inclined to suppose non-French origin of this motet (AM. VIII 117 f.); he thinks however of Franco of Cologne, in which I cannot join with him. The characteristics which induced him to assign to this motet a special place are, a certain affinity with what he calls the Conductus-type (cf. above, III p. 64) and, mainly, a marked tendency to major and functional tonality ; it is true that the latter is in some degree a consequence of the character of the T. melody, but it is more apparent here than in other motets with this T. The features which I added, *loc. cit.*, were : the presence of Marian Antiphon texts in M. and Tr., the influence of the T. melody on the upper voices, and a tendency to melodic repetition in the upper voices, parallel to the four repetitions of the T. melody. We shall not

urge too much the latter circumstance, since the problem of « isomelodicitity » is till now insufficiently explored (cf. below, p. 106). But it seems remarkable that the T. melody is reflected in the upper voices. This is again, in some measure, due to the community of harmonic atmosphere, yet the fact remains that the ascent from *f* to *c* and the ascent from *c* to *f* with return to *c*, both characteristic of the T. melody, often recur in the upper voices. That reminds us of the melodic community of T. and M. existing in two other motets of which one at least is English (cf. below, p. 86 and 90), although the circumstances are in our case not the same.

15) Although the fact that a motet recurs in an English Ms. is not in itself conclusive, we may note that Mo. 4, 58 (Tr. *Res nova*, M. *Virgo decus*, T. *Alleluja*) is to be found on the fly-leaves of Cambridge Trinity O 2.1 (Catalogue No. 1105), probably written in the early 14th c. in « English measured notation », f. 230′ (a page which is much damaged) ; it occurs also in a Boulogne Ms. and in one which may be English or French (cf. F. Ludwig, AM. V 210 f.). There is no concordance of rhythmical pattern between T. and M. But the second part of the M., i. e., that corresponding to the second « Durchführung » of the T., is nearly a repetition of the first, and the M. has twice a melismatic close, as noted by LR. 394 f. In the version of the Cambridge Ms. the M. is as in Mo., but the Tr. has another melody and sings the same text as the M. The T. melody, marked with *Alleluja* in Mo. and not marked in Cambridge, has not yet been identified ; indeed it does not look like a liturgical melody (cf. above p. 76).

The fact deserves our attention that in English Mss. the T. (if not fitted with a real text destined to be sung) very often lacks the mark of provenance, which it regularly has in French Mss. (cf. above, III p. 61 and this volume, p. 72). This is probably not only an external feature, but may in many cases point to a freely composed T., or one which handles the liturgical melody with freedom.

* * *

We may yet add that Mo. 4, 57 (Tr. *In salvatoris nomine*, M. *In veritate comperi*, T. *Veritatem*) occurs in the same Cambridge Ms. on f. 230, where it precedes Mo. 4, 58, as it does in Mo. Both upper voices of this motet are analogous as to structure, and their period closes coincide nearly in all cases with the closes of the T. Yet there are two circumstances which do not seem compatible with English origin : this motet stands in F, where it has the same M. and another Tr. (sung to the same text as the M.) ; and there are indications that the text of the M. is by a Parisian author (cf. LR. 253 and Ro.Mo.

IV 227 and 262). The Tr. in Cambridge is again different from that in F, although sung to the same text as the M. In W_2 and Huelgas our motet is without Tr. (some of these versions may be seen in H. Anglès' Huelgas edition, No. 140).

VII. Paris, Arsenal 135.

There are 7 Mo. motets occurring in a rather problematic Anglo-French Ms. : Paris, Arsenal 135, known by motet specialists as *Ars A*. It is an English missal of late 13th c. which was probably brought to Poitou by Englishmen (cf. *The Sarum Missal*, ed. by J. W. Legg, 1916, p. VIII). This Ms. contains, as an addition from the 14th c., a collection of motets (s. Ludwig, AM. V 212 f.), and the question is, where they came from and by whom were they inserted. The motets stand on leaves 290, 291, 316 and 317 ; it seems that 316 and 317, which continue 291′, were separated from it by a fault of the binder. Apart from the motets, the main interest of the Ms. rests upon a collection of songs of the Ordinarium Missae, mostly tropic, and sequences, written in the liturgical order on f. 228-298′ ; from these H. M. Bannister has drawn sequence texts for AH. XL.

The conclusion that the Ms. had been brought to the region of Poitiers was drawn in the Catalogue of the Arsenal Mss. from the presence of the local saints Pecinna and Maxentius in the calendar (f. 1-6′), where they were inserted during the 14th c. No further contribution to this question has come forth from abbé Leroquais' magnificent inventory (*Sacramentaires et Missels*, II 132 ff.), nor from La Laurencie's and Gastoué's catalogue of the musical Mss. of the Arsenal Library. We may add that in prayers inserted on f. 146′ Hilarius, the Poitiers saint, is prominent, and that a note added on f. 223, where a liturgical Ordo is written, refers to Poitou or Poitiers uses (« Pict. dicunt : ... »). But the calendar additions refer also to saints connected with other French localities (Eutropius — Saintes, Sulpicius — Bourges, apart from S. Louis, the king). Then there are the entries *S. Flavie virginis et martyris*, under the fifth of October, referring to Flavia or Flaviana from Auxerre (*Acta Sanctorum*, third October volume ; cf. the second October volume, p. 388), and *Flavie virginis*, under the seventh of May, referring to Flavia Domitilla (*Acta Sanctorum*, third May volume), a Roman saint, reliques of whom were at Limoges, S. Augustine's (*loc. cit.*, p. 6). The latter entry deserves special attention, since our Ms. contains among its 14th c. additions a proper office of this saint (f. 305′-315′), which draws its lectures precisely from the *Vita* printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. We may nevertheless keep to the Poitou theory in assuming that the Flavia office had been imported to Poitou from Limoges. The name of one Juteau who owned the Ms. in 1584 is, as my French colleague F. Lesure has kindly informed me, from the Poitou or Charente.

Yet the fact remains that it is a missal of the Sarum rite, and as such it could serve only in an English milieu. We must remember that Poitou had been till 1203, and was again 1356-1369 under English rule, the town Poitiers being retaken by the French only in 1372. Our supposition is supported by the English character of the script which appears in many of the notes added on the margin, as also in the entry of S. Louis in the calendar and in the note on f. 223, quoted above, from which we conclude that this English community took note of local uses and adopted them.

That is the milieu in which the motets were entered. F. Ludwig says (*loc. cit.*) that the motets are « apparently » written by a French hand, an assumption repeated in the affirmative by Ro. Mo. IV 75, without reasons given for it. The fact, stated by Ludwig, that they are written in pseudo-aristotelian measured notation, is no reason in itself, since marked features of this notation occur also in England (cf. J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation* I, 1904, p. 7 f.) (as to Pseudo-Aristoteles see below, *Appendix* II).

Our collection contains, as mentioned, 7 motets occurring also in Mo. : Mo. 3, 40, 4, 52, 4, 56, 7, 283, 7, 282, 4, 46, 3, 38, and one which is an *unicum*. Only the last is for 3 voices. The others comprise only M. and T., while they have a Tr. in Mo. The Tripla with which our motets are associated in Mo. 3 are French and, moreover, the Tripla of 3, 38, 3, 40, 4, 52 (and partly that or 7, 283) are in that later style using the sixth mode and sometimes putting more than one syllable to one breve. Was, then, the omission of the Tripla caused by linguistic or stylistic reasons? This is possible but not sure, since some of these motets are known to have existed with Latin Tripla of a more modest style. We may also think of a general tendency to simplification, as it has often manifested itself in the omission of voices.

We may, first, note that all our motets are Marian songs. As to structure, and especially the relation of the M. to the T., the following may be observed.

In *Virgo gloriosa*, T. *Letabitur* (with French Tr. in Mo. 3, 38) this relation is analogous to that existing in *Ave gloriosa* (Mo. 4, 53, see above, III p. 63) : both voices form simultaneously periods of 4 bars each, and every M. period corresponds to one verse, the verses being of 6 and 5 syllables as in *Ave gloriosa*, or of 7, in one case of 8 (in this case two syllables fall upon one breve). The close is a melism. The liturgical melody in the T. is : *letabitur rex* (taken from the *Alleluja Dominus in virtute*), then (from bar 55) the first half of this melody, and a Coda taken from *-tur*.

In *Mellis stilla, T. Domino* (with French Tr. in Mo. 3, 40) the M. forms long periods of 7 bars, with 13 syllables in each ; the T. has, in concordance with this, periods of 7 bars decomposed in $2 + 2 + 3$.

This motet occurs also in an English Ms., Cambridge Corpus Christi 8. The latter contains, apart from the fly-leaf mentioned by W. H. Frere (*Bibliotheca musico-liturgica* II 136), still other fragments of the same 13th c. Ms. In that which precedes f. 256 I read the end of our M. text and the rubric *Tenor de Mellis stilla*, this being written in red with music above. Unfortunately the Ms. is greatly damaged and, when I saw it, I did not care to note whether music, and what kind of music, is written above the M. text.

In *Beata viscera*, T. *Beata* (with French Tr. in Mo. 3, 46) the M. borrows its text from the Communio whose melody is in the T. (an interesting « dédoublement » !). This text is furnished with tropic interpolations and, as LR. 402 f. has observed, its liturgical sections proceed generally in the heavy fifth mode (cf. above, p. 78), the interpolations being in the third. The incisions of M. and T. coincide often, but not in all cases. The rhythm to which the Communio melody is subjected in the T. is irregular.

In *O Maria maris stella*, T. *In veritate* (with Tr. *O Maria virgo davidica* in Mo. 4, 52) M. and T. form together periods of 4 bars. This motet exists already in F, where it has a Tr. singing the M. text.

In *Salve virgo rubens rosa*, T. *Neuma* (with Tr. *Ave lux luminum* in Mo. 4, 56) the T. forms periods of 2 bars throughout, while the M. has in general 4-bar periods coinciding with two T. periods ; yet in the middle four binary periods of the T. are opposed by 3 + 2 + 3 in the M., and just here the T. begins its second « Durchführung » ; it is clear that the M. ceased to associate one 4-bar period with two 2-bar periods of the T., only in order to bridge the transition from the first to the second exposition of the melody in the T. In so far there is an element of « isoperiodicity » (cf. above, p. 75).

The assumption of F. Ludwig, AM. V 213, that the order of M. and Tr. is reversed in Mo., is confirmed by our analysis, since the Tr. has irregular periods independently from the T. expositions, as well as by the position of the Tr. as uppermost in the initial and final chord, and by the fact that both voices are in the right order in *Ars B* (s. *loc. cit.* 209). The M. with the T. is further contained in Bologna, Liceo Q 11, f. 7′, where both voices are written in one system and the T. is adapted to the M. text by splitting of notes, as was the case in the Harleian version of Mo. 4, 53 (see Ludwig, AM. V 220, and above, III p. 63).

In *Descendi in hortum*, T. *Alma* (with Tr. *Anima mea* in Mo. 7, 282) the period closes of M. and T. coincide only partially, yet those of the M. and the Mo. Tr. coincide throughout. H. Besseler who edited the Mo. version of this motet, AM. VIII 242, assigned it to the Conductus type (AM. VIII 179, cf. above, III p. 64). LR. 443 supposes plausibly that the form which this motet has in Mo. 7

is the original one. The texts of both upper voices are taken from Antiphons.

In *Marie preconio devotio*, T. *Aptatur* (with Tr. *Amor vincens omnia* in Mo. 7, 283) the T. forms periods of one double bar and therefore it is impossible for the incisions of the M. not to coincide with those of the T., in so far as the M. periods are multiples of a double bar. But the disposition must also be considered in the light of « isoperiodicity » as defined above, p. 75. The T. comprises three « Durchführungen », each of eight periods of a double bar, plus the beginning of a fourth exposition, and in these the disposition of the M. is analogous : it forms periods of 2 double bars ; but as the first of them comprises 3 bars, every fourth of these periods bridges the transition from one T. exposition to the other ; the Tr. of Mo. fits even more easily into this scheme, as it opposes periods of 3 + 2 + 3 to every T. exposition. Thus, in every T. section the incisions of all the voices coincide in the third and fifth double bar. LR. 444 hailed this motet as the first representant of isorhythmical (I should say : isoperiodical) disposition (cf. Samm. V 217 f. and H. Besseler, AM. VIII 179), but the cases quoted above, p. 74 f and 75, may not be less old, and that quoted on p. 84 (which is confined to the M.) is even older. Another remarkable feature of this motet, already observed by P. Aubry (*Cent motets*, 1908, ad No. 39) is that the M. is to the sequence *Marie preconio serviat* (ed. in *Revue du chant grégorien* IV 103 ff.) as a trope : the first verse of the sequence, with its melody, is the beginning of the M., the second appears at the limit of the first and second T. exposition, the third verse within the third, and the fourth at the very end. That reminds us of the case mentioned above p. 84 ; but since here the melody is also involved, we are furthermore reminded of cases of « double paraphrasing » as those quoted above, III p. 62, and below, p. 87 ; or rather it is double « Durchführung », since the given melodies are not modified and only the passages of the T. are sought out where the sequence fragments could be fitted in. The Mo. Tr. is connected with the M. in so far as its first word is the last of the M. As appears from the edition in Ro. Mo., our Poitou Ms. would write two breves in bar 20 as semibreves (we should, then, think of « English mensural notation »), yet the fact is only that a ligature of 2 notes occupying the place of a *perfectio* has been written *cum opposita proprietate*, and since the notation of our Ms. is for the rest advanced measured notation, that can only be a fault of the copyist and further conclusions cannot be drawn from it. The transcription of the version in B. M. Add. 27630 (a German Ms. from ca. 1400 which contains only the M. and T.) given by H. Anglès in his Huelgas edition as supplement to No. 127, is in binary rhythm. What were the reasons which induced the learned editor to choose that method ? I do not

see why we could not as well choose ternary rhythm. Even in this case the German Ms. would represent an interesting change of rhythm : the second mode formula of Mo. being changed to fifth mode and more than one note having in the second mode version fallen mostly upon every second syllable, the result is this combination of the fifth mode, syllabical, with the third, musical, which we have met several times (s. above, p. 78). It seems quite possible that this was the original rhythm of the motet and that in the Mo. version the fifth (or third) mode is contracted to the second. (By the way, in the German Ms. the T. is not inscribed *Tenor sancte Marie*, but *Tenor super Marie*).

* * *

The most remarkable item of our collection is that which does not occur elsewhere : the motet with Tr. *Regina celi*, M. *Ave regina*, T. *Ave*. Ludwig had already pointed out that both Tr. and M. borrow their texts from an Antiphon, that the beginning of the Tr. quotes the respective melody, and that the T. melody is taken from the same Antiphon as the M. text (AM. V 213 ; cf. above p. 84, as well as p. 80) ; Besseler who published the motet (AM. VIII 243), observed (p. 180) that the M. in its turn quotes the melody corresponding to its text in bars 9-12 and 15-16 ; and it is easy to see that the Tr., as well as the M., contains even more reminiscences of the respective liturgical melodies. (Besseler adds that we know of no earlier case of the use of liturgical melodies in upper voices ; Bukofzer, in his dissertation, p. 115, parallels with it a *Sanctus* of English provenance which may be slightly older and has in the uppermost voice a liturgical *Sanctus* as cantus firmus ; yet I should think that the important thing is not so much the presence of a cantus firmus in an upper voice but its free paraphrase-like handling and, especially, the fact that a liturgical melody situated in the T. radiates into an upper voice ; in this sense we may quote as parallel the case mentioned above p. 81, which is possibly not later than this). At the same time this motet is a perfect example of the Conductus type in Besseler's sense (cf. AM. VIII 179 f.), since all the voices pause simultaneously after every 4 bars. Rhythmically it is very conservative, as not more than 3 notes fall upon one *perfectio*.

I think however that these 3 notes, when written as conjuncture, ought to be interpreted in the sense of Pseudo-Aristoteles (s. above, p. 83) as ♫♩, not ♩♩♩, since the latter rhythm is indicated in the normal way. Another detail in which I do not quite agree with the quoted

transcription is the close of the M. where I should interpret the notes above *exora* thus :

which produces a dissonant appoggiatura of the type mentioned by Anonymus IV, CS. I 358b (cf. *Acta* XV 3).

The T. is an *ostinato* repeating the 7 notes *c b a h g a c*. We may consider this as « free » treatment of the liturgical melody, not only because only one motive (corresponding to the word *Ave*) is taken from it, but because the close juxtaposition of *b* and *h*, harsh and attractive as it is, is absent in the Antiphon melody, the liturgical Mss. exhibiting in this passage either twice *b* or twice *h* (cf. Dom Pothier in *Revue du chant grégorien*, XI 120). At the same time this fragment may be considered as a spirited epitome of the Antiphon as a whole, which (in the version of the *Editio Vaticana*) has this motive twice with *b* and another one which is nearly the same, twice with *h* ; (as to a rapid transition from *b* to *h* which must alter the « character » of the other notes, cf. above, III p. 67 and a passage in the middle of the M. of our next musical example). At the beginning of our composition the M. doubles this motive at the fifth, then it opposes still new fragments of the Antiphon melody to the first motive repeated by the T., while the Tr. inserts from time to time a bit of the *Regina celi* melody. Indeed the purpose of the *Ascendit Christus*, mentioned above, III p. 62 f. as taking its material from two Marian Antiphons, has already been surpassed here.

* * *

We cannot escape the impression that there is an English « flavour » in this last motet. Was it, then, rather imported from England or composed by an English musician in Poitou? At any rate, this motet stands quite apart in relation to the French music of the epoch in which it was written down.

The question of the other 7 motets of our collection is more complicated, since many continental Mss. are involved, and we are not sure what was their original form. As we have seen, the form without Tr. was, at least in some cases, not the original one ; as to the three motets contained in Mo. 3, we may add that the Latin Tripla with which they are associated in the Bamberg Ms. are probably later than the French ones which they have in Mo. (see below *Appendix* IV) ; but much more cannot be said. Indeed there seem to exist between those 7 motets some common features, but they appear not very significative, except the case of the last two (*Marie preconio* and *Descendi in hortum*, Mo. 7, 283 and 282). The fact

that all the Moteti are in honour of Mary could be explained by the sympathies of the collector. As it seems, none of them goes back to a Notre Dame Clausula, but that is only a negative criterion.

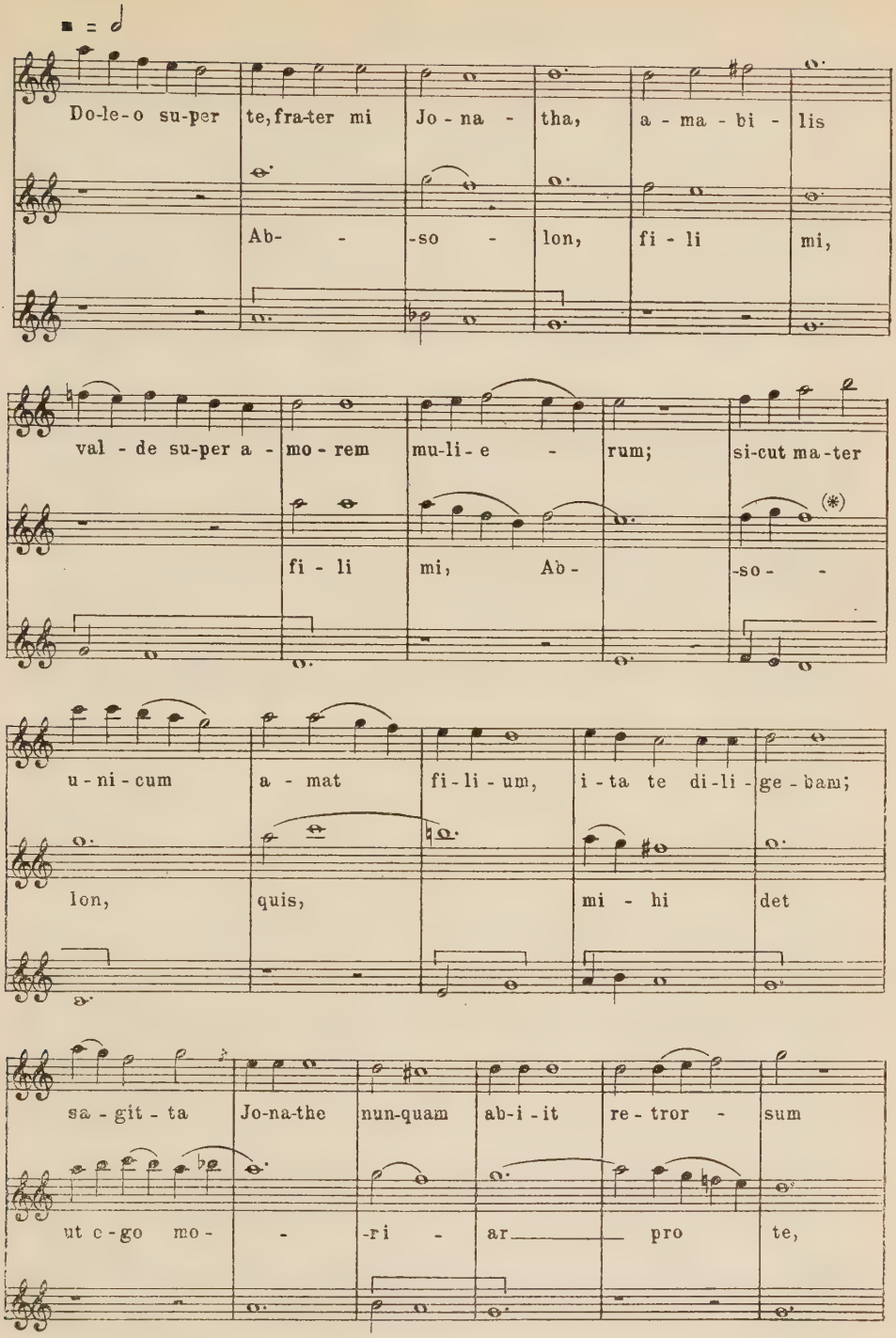
And what about the relation of this group to the last motet? In one case (*Descendi in hortum*) there is an affinity, in so far as this motet also uses in its complete form two Antiphon texts ; but it does not display the art of musical quotation or paraphrase. In another case (*Marie preconio*) there are also some indications of English provenance. But being reduced to two voices, these motets must belong to a different historical stratum.

Conservative rhythmics are also a connecting link between the last motet and the preceding seven, and in so far there is a community of taste. But this taste manifests itself, on the one side, in a creative effort applying a special technique, on the other rather in preserving remnants of a bygone evolution. Both these activities are however compatible with a milieu as that which we have assumed. Since we know all these motets were written down after the middle of the 14th c., we should be compelled to look for a « peripheral » milieu, even if we should know nothing about the provenance of the Ms.

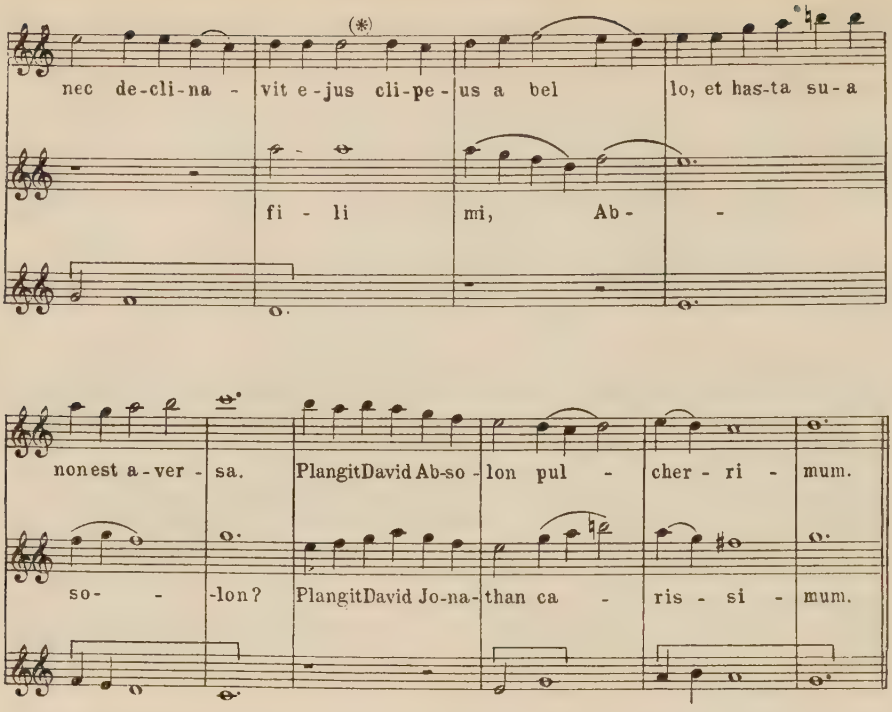
* * *

Now I should like to add, parenthetically, a parallel to the last motet from Arsenal 135 that is surely English. It dispays characteristics pointing to a later origin ; yet the Ms. in which it is written is not later and perhaps even earlier. We may take this parallel as a work of the early 14th c. It stands in the Ms. Cambridge, Gonville and Cajus 512, f. 258′, the same Ms. from which I extracted the trumpet-like Conductus *Gemma nitens* (*Der Toncharakter*, 257 f., and *Musikgeschichte*, 213 f.). I think now that the collection containing our example was written down in the early 14th c., while *Gemma nitens* was written a little later.

It is a motet with textless T., the upper voices being *Doleo super te* and *Absalon fili mi*. When looking at the Antiphon *Rex autem David* as reproduced in *Paléographie Musicale* XII pl. 165, we see that the first two T. periods agree with *fili mi* in the Antiphon ; where the rest of the T. may come from I do not see (if it is not the melody of *super te frater* in the Antiphon *Doleo super te* which we shall presently refer to). As to text and melody, the M. is the second half of the Antiphon *Rex autem* (including *fili mi*) in a somewhat adorned form ; to this a close is added which is, as to text, a narrative epilogue replacing in a way the first half of the Antiphon and, as concerns melody, apparently free (apart from a slight affinity to the beginning of the Antiphon). We could therefore ask whether the real T. is not the middle voice ; but rhythmically the lowest voice has the character of a T. and, moreover, it is instrumental (i. e., written without text). The Tr. takes its text from the Antiphon *Doleo super te* which precedes ours in Pal. Mus. XII 165 and which is


Do-le-o su-per te, fra-ter mi Jo-na - tha, a - ma - bi - lis
Ab- -so - lon, fi - li mi,
val - de su-per a - mo - rem mu-li-e - rum; si-cut ma-ter
fi - li mi, Ab- -so -
u - ni - cum a - mat fi-li - um, i - ta te di-li - ge - bam;
lon, quis, mi - hi det
sa - git - ta Jo-na-the nun-quam ab-i - it re - tror - sum
ut e - go mo- -ri - ar pro te,

(*) Ligature of three Breves in Ms.


(*)
nec de-cli-na - vit e-jus cli-pe- us a bel lo, et has-ta su-a
fi - li mi, Ab -
nonest a-ver - sa. PlangitDavid Ab-so - lon pul - cher - ri - mum.
so- -lon? PlangitDavid Jo-na- than ca - ris - si - mum.

(*) Longa in Ms.

a pendant to it, since in the latter David laments his friend and in the former his son ; to this the Tr. adds the same epilogue as the M., but this time referring to Absalon, as the close of the M. does with Jonathan ; (frankly we should have expected the reverse !). Thus the composer starts from two Antiphons, one being David's complaint about his son and the other that about his friend ; he makes these complaints to be sung simultaneously and to finish with one narrative phrase : an ingenious disposition even textually. Melodically the Tr. may be considered as free, although there are perhaps some analogies to the Antiphon *Doleo*. Yet it displays affinities to the T. and M. (thus, bars 26-27 of the Tr. anticipate bars 30-31 of the other voices and the descending figure at the beginning of the Tr. recurs in the M.). As to affinities between M. and T., we could compare bars 8-9 of the M. with the first two T. periods ; and bars 30-32 form a sort of « simultaneous imitation ».

The T. is composed, as normally, of two expositions, and the M. more or less joins it in this respect (this repetition existing already in the Antiphon melody), as does also the Tr., but with even greater freedom. The rhythm is likewise repeated, in the T. exactly and more or less so in the upper voices ; thus isorhythmicity is confounded with isomelodicity. The Tr. has a character which might be described as monodic and declamatory. The fact that it begins alone is exceptional in the older motet (cf. *Acta* VI 106 ; Mo. presents only the case of 5, 157, since in 5, 162 it is doubtful whether the rhythm is not rather ♪♬♪ than ♪♩♫♪ ; see further

WMH. No. 25). The M. does not constrain itself to set the accentuated syllable (or a syllable whatever) at the beginning of the bar and therefore it reminds us of the sliding rhythmics of the 15th and 16th c. The Tr. freely sets two syllables to one breve, the *tempus* being binary and the *modus* ternary. The accidentals, as written in our transcription, correspond to the original.

In applying the art of varied repetition this motet is a predecessor of some English compositions of the 15th c. which have been analysed by R. von Ficker in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* XI. There is, moreover, an analogy between it and the famous 4-voice motet *Veni sancte spiritus* by Dunstable, in which the T. uses two melodic phrases derived from the hymn *Veni creator*, while the uppermost voice uses the melody of this hymn at large by paraphrasing it. (This voice does not employ only the beginning of the hymn, as stated by Riemann in his important analysis and repeated by me in *Musikgeschichte*, p. 251, and it does not use the hymn melody only in the introductory duet sections, as stated by M. Bukofzer, *Musical Quarterly* XXXV 42, although these sections in which the T. is silent are prominent in this respect). At the same time in the uppermost voice there appears a certain analogy between the three parts corresponding to the threefold exposition of the cantus firmus in the T., an analogy which can be symbolized as A A_1 A_2 and as to which the question is, in how far it is conditioned by the melodical repetition in the T., or rather by aesthetic purpose.

Compositions like the *unicum* from the Poitou Ms. and this motet anticipate likewise the tendency of the *a cappella* style of the 15th and 16th c. to supply the different voices with the same melodic material; but what was there more and more becoming a uniform technique, has here the character of caprice and experiment.

VIII. English material even in the Ms. F?

There is at the end of the second motet fascicle in F, which contains mainly two-voice Latin motets, on f. 413-414′ a group of rather « heterodox » motets (Nos. 42, 43 and 44 according to LR. 116 f., while No. 45 is rather « normal » and No. 46 cannot be classified since only part of the M. is preserved). We find here characteristics which have several times aroused our attention: simultaneity of period closes (throughout, including No. 45 and probably even No. 46, since the M. periods in the latter are of 8 beats each; it is true that only 2 voices are involved); melisms (No. 43); the absence of text mark in the T. (No. 44); the beginning with a third (No. 42); a modification of the T. melody in the repetition or second exposition (Nos. 42 and 43); assonance between the M. text and the T. word (No. 44); closes with tone repetition, reminiscent of lai melodies (Nos. 46 and 45; cf. above, III p. 62). LR. notes that none of these motets is known to have its musical « source » in a Notre Dame

Clausula, with the exception of No. 45 (for which we can confirm his supposition). But he does not seem to be much interested in them, since his commentary to the second motet fascicle (LR. 117 ff.) centres on the appearance of some motets with 2 upper voices and different texts, which he views in the perspective of « progressiveness ».

We have already seen that single characteristics as those mentioned are not more than a clue which may be taken up for further investigation, and therefore the question of the provenance of these motets may for the moment be left in suspense.

By the way, there is at the end of the first motet fascicle which contains motets with 2 upper voices and 1 text, also a group of three (Nos. 24-26 according to LR. 106 ff.) which stand in a way apart. One corresponds to Bamberg No. 6 ; it is published in different versions also by F. Gennrich in ZM. XI 484 ff. and by H. Anglès in his Huelgas edition, No. 89, from which we see that simultaneity of period closes is very marked, yet, on the other hand, the text has been ascribed to a Parisian author. The remaining two correspond to Mo. 4, 52 and 4, 57, which have been taken into consideration above, p. 84 and 81.

Here we shall adduce only an argument to show that the presence of English material in F is not *a priori* ruled out. This argument comes from the domain of the Conductus. As in known, some of the Conductus contained in F refer to historical events and can therefore be assigned to a definite time and place, which has provisionally been done by L. Delisle in *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, 1885. He found that these historical texts refer to events and persons from England and Northern France, towards the end of the 12th c. and in the first 4 decades of the 13th (*loc. cit.* 103 f. ; it was, therefore, rather surprising that he assumed them all to have been composed « on the banks of the Seine and the Loire »). There are, e. g., Conductus on the death of Henry II and the accession of Richard I in 1189 (*In occasum sideris* and *Redit etas aurea*, both for 2 voices) and on William of Longchamp, bishop of Ely, who was regent of the kingdom during Richard's crusade 1189-1192 (*Divina providentia*, for 1 voice). Another specimen, not mentioned by Delisle, is *Nulli beneficium*, a two-voiced Conductus which has many analogies with *Redit etas aurea* and which was very probably addressed to the rival of W. of Longchamp, Geoffrey, the natural son of Henry II, who was appointed by Richard I in 1189 as archbishop of York ; it seems to refer to the beginnings of Geoffrey's activity as bishop of Lincoln (about 1175 or a little later ; cf. *The Musical Times* 1932, 512).

Giraldus Cambrensis who wrote a sympathetic biography of this Geoffrey (cf. the complete works of Giraldus, IV 355 ff.), mentions that he was once solemnly received at York, his father still living :

cum hymnis et canticis usque in ecclesiam cathedralem perductus est et a toto communiter tam clero quam populo cum gaudio magno atque tripudio susceptus ; and, more interesting, he mentions (p. 427) in a rather hostile sense that William of Longchamp maintained, when in the zenith of his power, minstrels from France and singers of verse who praised him (*joculatores de regno Francorum et cantores rhythmici ab eo conducti in laudem sui nominis epigrammata plurima et cantica praeconiosa fingere consueverant*), while after his fall men of high standing and literary ability composed writings and songs in which his fate was represented as a warning to others (*viri magni et literati... scripta non pauca et carmina composuere*). Another old writer (quoted by H. J. Chaytor, *The troubadours and England*, 1923, p. 2 f.) says that whan W. of Longchamp was appointed as chancellor in 1190, *quidam carmina, quidam cantilenas et alias hujusmodi, quae non multo constabant, magnifice offerebant, ut ubertate frugum alterius seminum suorum inopiam sublevarent.* These testimonies are characteristic of the way in which the Conductus poetry and music was mingled with political life. *Divina providentia* is precisely a song of praise like those which are ironically referred to by Giraldus, whereas *Nulli beneficium*, addressed to Geoffrey, is in the character of a serious and dignified admonition.

The third is rather conspicuous in those polyphonic Conductus which we have mentioned as referring to events of English history (*In occasu, Redit etas* and, in a lesser degree, *Nulli beneficium*). *Christi miles*, on the death of Thomas of Canterbury (1170), contained in F f. 373′, also has « gymel » - like passages ; there is, moreover, at the close of the upper voice, a leap leading to a cadence on the upper octave, which may be interpreted as the entry of a third voice, as was noticed in some compositions of the 11th fascicle of W_1 (*Schweiz. Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* I, 1924, p. 59). The other Conductus on Thomas Becket, *Novus miles* (F f. 230, for 3 voices), has thirds only at a few verse closes. (As to *Eclipsim patitur*, composed on the death of Geoffrey, duke of Bretagne, 1186, and contained in F as in W_1, we may doubt whether it must be considered as English or French ; thirds are not conspicuous in it). These Conductus on Thomas Becket would show that a composition may be English even if contained in F and not in W_1 ; yet normally the fact that a Conductus is present only in W_1 and thirds play a marked rôle in it, would point to English provenance. This is the case of *A deserto* (W_1 f. 143, this being distinct from another composition with the same words, F 316′ and W_1 174), *Adjuva* (W_1 144′), *Festa januaria* (W_1 80′), *Luto carens* (W_1 80, the version in F 463′ being for one voice), *O quotiens* (W_1 109′), *Si quis* (W_1 120 ; here the third appears only at a few verse closes). A further step in this hypothetical direction would be to add *Porta salutis*, a Conductus quite similar to *Adjuva* and particularly rich in thirds (these appearing in the version of W_1 70 even more than in that of F 361′) ; both are, by the way, among the small group of Conductus with prose

texts. Again, *Magnificat* (W_1 129′ and F 301′) and *Sursum corda* (W_1 172 and F 342′) form a pair, since not only the third is prominent in them, but the text is in both cases the paraphrase of a liturgical one and the formal structure is similar ; moreover the latter has an English affinity in so far as there exists another composition of this Mass Canon paraphrase in the Worcester fragments (WMH. Nr. 5), and the former, in so far as it is among the few cases where W_1 (apart from its 11th fascicle) employs a lozenge as isolated note, instead of a square. Another pair is formed by *Procurans* (F 226) and *Purgator* (W_1 80), both being different compositions based on the same melody ; in this case both compositions are probably English, that in F being older (cf. *Musikgeschichte*, p. 165) ; the third is more conspicuous in the latter, whereas in W_1 only a few parallel sixths appear. This investigation can of course only be brought to a close by taking in account the whole stylistic and paleographical evidence. For the moment I shall add two further items. One is *Sol sub nube latuit* of which again two compositions, based on the same melody, exist ; here it is the version contained in W_1 119′ and F 354′ which is conspicuous in relation to the third, not that contained in St. Gall 383, 169. *Veri floris* which is for one voice in St. Gall 383 and for three in F, W_1 and W_2, has only in the last Ms. (f. 39′) a final melisma, and in this nearly all the chords are thirds except, of course, the last one. (See Note 1).

Yet the question is not only that of the presence of compositions of English origin in Notre Dame manuscripts, but of the actual influence which English music may have exerted in France even before the days of Martin le Franc and Dufay. In this sense we cannot overlook a testimony brought forth by F. Chrysander (in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1882, p. 343, where, however, no reference is given ; it is, as established by F. M. Padelford, *Old English musical terms*, p. 12, from the *Vita* of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, written by a contemporary and edited by J. C. Robertson, *Materials for the history of Thomas Becket*, p. 30 f.). This Thomas who was afterwards canonized was in 1159 sent by Henry II to Paris to ask for marriage of the daughter of Louis VII with Henry's son. This mission was equipped lavishly and, when entering the French towns and villages, it was preceded by 250 young fellows of foot (*garciones pedites*) who, walking in groups of 6 or 10, or more, « sang something in their language in the manner of their country » (*aliquid lingua sua pro more patriae suae cantantes*). We may imagine that, if not Perotinus in his youth, Leoninus was among those gazing at this scene ; thus Parisians and Northern Frenchmen had ample opportunity to become acquainted with a specifically English kind of music. We may surmise that this was in the manner of the Summer Canon and that the groups of 6, 10 or more singers represented each one voice, thus producing choral polyphony, a kind of music which was at this epoch probably very little known in France.

This may, then, have been a channel by which stylistic elements of a rather « popular » character (canonic imitation, voice exchange) won the favour of Parisian musicians. Yet we must not think that polyphony in itself was at that time unknown in Paris : one of the polyphonic Conductus in the Ms. of S. James at Compostella si ascribed to one « Magister Albertus Parisiensis » (cf. AH. XVII 8). Perhaps the Paris Cantor (Praecentor) Albertus is meant whose name occurs in charters between 1147 and 1173 (cf. Guérard, *Cartulaire de Notre Dame* II 175, etc.) ; at all events the name of this Paris dignitary is connected with the history of the Conductus, since he bequeathed to Notre Dame two « versaries », by which we can scarcely understand something other than Conductus Mss. (*dedit nobis missale, lectionarium, antiphonarium, graduale, psalterium cum hymnis, duos troperios, duos versarios, loc. cit.* IV 118 ; cf. *Acta* IV 5).

It would be interesting, but it would be beyond our present scope to compare the musical characteristics of Conductus like those which we have quoted, with other Conductus from the Notre Dame Mss. We return to the domain of the motet and here our question is, how it may be explained that the Ms. W_1, written in the late 13th century, contains only 6 motets of a rather oldfashioned type, while English circles were, as we have seen, busy with many-sided motet work already about the middle of the 13th c. The explanation must, as I think, be sought in the fact that Scotland and S. Andrews, where W_1 was probably written, are in geographical respect « peripheral », while those circles which had earlier contributed to the history of the motet, must have been active in the South of England ; it is therefore likely that if a « Notre Dame Ms. » had survived in this region, it would be older than W_1. (See Note 2).

There remains to examine these 6 motets contained in W_1. They are all contained also in F. 1) *Serena virginum* has 3 voices singing the same text, and T. ; 2) *Latex silice* is in the same situation ; the rest are for 2 voices singing the same text, and T. ; 3) *Deo confitemini*, 4) *Laudes referat*, 5) *Gaudeat devotio*, 6) *Qui servare puberem* (cf. LR. 35, 39-41, 99, 103-104). But while the T. is present in F, it is omitted in W_1. What is, then, the historical position of these motets, and what is the meaning of the T.-less version contained in W_1?

F. Ludwig considered this motet type to be the oldest existing or, as we had better say, the oldest in the domain of motets derived from Clausulae or constructed after the model of Clausulae. His main argument was precisely that this type is the only one represented in W_1 but, alas, he did not know that W_1 is younger than F and that it is insular, i. e., peripheral and therefore not conclusive in his sense. When I came to the conclusion that W_1 is English, I was myself perplexed by the upheaval to Ludwig's historical

constructions that it would imply ; and I think that till now the adjustment has not been completed. As concerns these 6 motets we must first compare the F and the W_1 versions.

Are these motets, as they stand in W_1, really meant to be sung without T.? I think so. The first-class inventory given by LR. shows that the missing T. could not in all cases be supplied from Clausulae present in the same Ms ; and in the case of 1) the last T. note must be *c* (as it is in the motet T. in F), while the Clausula T. ends on *a*. We could even find that the omission of the T. is not so great a loss, since if all the 4 voices of 1) and 2) are taken together, the result is rather harsh which is not the case, if only the 3 upper voices are sung, or only the T. with the M. That does not of course exclude that the Tr. and Quadruplum were composed to be sung with the T., but it makes it probable that they were composed after the M. The omission of the T. is a catastrophe only in this respect, that it is this voice which gives the key for a correct rhythmical interpretation of the upper voices.

It is true that Ludwig thinks the full-voiced form of our motets to be the original one ; but there are still other circumstances which make that unlikely. Thus, the words *tollite* and *bibite* in 1) produce a sort of tonal contrast in the T. and M., which is frustrated by both other voices. We must add that not only the majority of our motets have in the Ms. W_2 only T. and M. (that would in itself not prove much), but the two-voiced version of 1) has in W_2 another text than in F and W_1, *Manere vivere*, and this text must be the original one since it is tropic to the T. word, whereas the text of F and W_1 is simply a *Benedicamus domino* paraphrase gloryfying Mary (by the way, this gives the explanation, sought by LR. 35, of the fact that this motet is in W_1 consecutive to a *Benedicamus domino* ; and the Beauvais Ms. which we shall quote below mentions also that this motet was sung after a tropic *Benedicamus*, cf. LR. 235 ; as to the 3 following Conductus, we may remember that the Conductus, even when not ending with the words *Benedicamus domino*, stood often at the end of the office). On the other hand, the text of 2) as it stands in F and W_1 is tropic to the T.

In respect to form both four-voice motets present a peculiarity. 1) takes its material not, as usual, from one Clausula, but from 4 Clausulae set to the same T., and since the fourth has two T. expositions, this motet comprises five expositions which makes it unusually long ; the text is nevertheless not divided into five equal strophes, since the period disposition of the upper voices is not the same in the five expositions. 2) has as close a large melism, and to it are added further strophes to be sung with the same music ; thus it is, as far as form is concerned, quite like a Conductus. But the only other Ms. where 2) is known to exist with music, Stuttgart H. B. I

Asc. I 95, f. 30′ (cf. LR. 319), in which only the M. is preserved, lacks this melism. It is, then, probable that the melism was composed at the same time at which the two other voices were set above the M. and this reminds me again of the Conductus, in whose domain a melism was sometimes added when a one-voice piece was transformed into a polyphonic composition, thus adding the horizontal adornment to the vertical.

It seems that 1) also underwent a transformation at the moment at which the two voices were added, and that is precisely the change of text which has already been mentioned : it is probable that the *Benedicamus* text *Serena virginum* was substituted for *Manere vivere* simultaneously with the addition of the Tr. and Quadruplum, because it has as close the words « Plausu leti *trino* Benedicamus domino ».

Yet we must consider that 1) there exists also in a three-voice form comprising T., M. and Tr., in the Beauvais Ms. B. M. Egerton 2615 (cf. LR. 240 and 242 ; and this form has again been deprived of the T. in a Spanish Ms.). Therefore the question is whether « plausu trino » has not rather to be referred to this form. Must, in other words, the T. be included in the number of real singing voices or not ?

As is known, in the 13th c. the general tendency was to transform the T. from a voice which was (melismatically) sung into a (probably) instrumental one ; and this is partly confirmed by the fact that the syllables of the T. text were first set at their proper place below the notes (as in F) and afterwards written all at the beginning, as a simple mark of provenance (which is the case in W_2, Mo., Bamberg etc. ; P. Aubry, *Cent motets* III 148, had asserted the instrumental character of the T. with the argument that it is mostly written in ligatures, but that is in itself not conclusive). That does not of course exclude that motet Tenors were even in later times sung, and, on the other hand, a vocal rendering of the T. may not always have been considered as necessary even in F (cf. *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* V 41, note 2 ; we must e. g. concede that in the F version of our 1) the recitation of the word *Manere* in the T. is rather senseless since the text of the upper voices is no longer tropic).

There are indeed testimonies indicating that the T. was not considered as a voice on the same footing as the upper ones. In W_2 there is on f. 145, at the beginning of a series of motets for two parts, a miniature showing only one singer (cf. *Acta* IV 9 f., note). As to literary testimonies, we see that they do not distinguish between « vocal » and « instrumental » as we should like it, but rather « with text » (*cum littera*) and « without text » (*sine littera*), the latter category including melismatic singing. Yet we discern at the same time a tendency to push the T. into the background. Thus, *cum dupplici littera* in the Reading list must signify three-voice motets with different texts in the upper voices and *cum una littera et dupplici nota* two-voice motets (cf. LR. 274-276). Accordingly I think that theoreticians like Pseudo-Aristoteles and W. Odington pass over the T. in rubricating the motet simply as a composi-

tion *cum littera* (CS. I 248a, 269b). Franco takes, on the contrary, the presence of *different* texts as characteristic of the motet (CS. I 130a) : *cum diversis litteris fit discantus, ut in motettis qui habent triplum vel tenorem, quia tenor cuidam littere aequipollet* ; we see that he includes the T. only in order to make the two-voice motet also agree with his definition, and that the reference to the T. is in weakened form (*aequipollet*). But his inclusion of the T. does not seem to have pleased everybody ; for this passage is repeated in unmodified form only by Anonymus I (CS. I 302 a/b), while the *Speculum musicae* restricts Franco's definition : (*cum littera*) *diversa, ut in motettis triplum habentibus* (CS. II 395a), and S. Tunstede has : *cum diversis litteris ... ut in motettis qui habent triplum cum tenore, in quibus tenor aequipollet litterae* (CS. III 361b = IV 294b) — a classification which is not very clear but seems to restrict the definition to those motets in which the T. was really sung (and such continued to exist). The unscholastic Johannes de Grocheo says (in the edition of J. Wolf, Samm. I 106) : *Motetus ... est cantus ex pluribus compositus habens plura dictamina vel multimodam discretionem syllabarum ... ibi sunt tres cantus vel quatuor, plura autem dictamina, quia quilibet debet habere discretionem syllabarum tenore excepto* ; and further (Samm. I 110, with the correction given by H. Müller, Samm. IV 367) : *cum in motellis plura sint dictamina.* That gives the impression that the T. is mostly textless and in some cases with text (the latter may indeed be referred to a special class of motets, those with a French Chanson as T.).

It seems therefore that « plausu trino » in the text of 1) must refer to the three upper voices of the version in F. Accordingly the order of the versions would be : 1. motet *Manere* for 2 voices, as in W_2 ; 2. motet *Serena* for 4 voices, as in F ; 3. motet *Serena* for 3 voices, as in the Beauvais version. We could, then, find that in the last the words « plausu trino » are out of place. Yet it is quite possible that in this version the T. had to be sung to the same text as the M. and Tr. since, as LR. 242 states, all the voices are exceptionally written in score, with the text *Serena* beneath the lowest voice, which may signify a splitting of the T. notes, as in one version of *Ave gloriosa* (cf. above, III p. 63 ; I regret not to have at hand a photograph of the Beauvais version).

That these 6 motets are not English as to their fundamental structure, i. e., T. and M., results from the fact that they are all derived from Notre Dame Clausulae, be these single or incorporated in « Choralbearbeitungen ». In this sense we shall not omit to note that the lai-like close with tone repetition occurs several times in the M. of 2). The question could only be whether the addition of Tr. and Quadruplum (or, in four cases, the addition of a Tr.) could have been the work of an English musician ; but that we may leave to the future Notre Dame historian to determine.

IX. General reflections ; conclusion.

In many of those motets which can be suspected as being English we have noted that the incisions in the upper voices coincide with those of the T. (above, III p. 63 f, and this volume, p. 86). Now it is true that this peculiarity occurs also in motets which are preserved in F, as it occurs in many Clausulae (i. e., those parts of *Choralbearbeitungen* which, by fitting their upper voices to a new text or texts, could be transformed into motets). But it seems that, the Notre Dame *Choralbearbeitung* embodying both possibilities — conformity or non-conformity of the upper voices to the T. as to period closes —, the English motet of the 13th c. has in a larger measure cultivated the former style, reminding of the syllabic parts of the Conductus ; and the same seems to have been the case of that variety of the French motet which we could consider as « popular » (cf. above, p. 79) ; thus appears a gradation analogous to that which set in the 15th c. the Carol and Frottola against a more artistic or artificial method of composition.

Turning to the melodic aspect I feel induced to come back to a certain discussion about « paraphrase » which has taken place and which is not yet at its close. As I pointed out in ZM. X, 1928, p. 541-555, there occur in the 14th c. compositions of the Ordinary of the Mass, in which a procedure stretching from quotation to paraphrase is applied to liturgical melodies of the Ordinary and which, is so far, anticipate methods of the 15th and 16th c. Among them was a composition contained in the « Fragment Coussemaker » which was then considered to be lost, but which I found soon afterwards at Brussels, and this Ms. proved to contain still another composition in which this method is applied ; it seems to be English (cf. *Acta* VII, 1935, p. 160 f.).

I repeat that the order of the parts of the composition printed ZM. X 544-547 has been inverted by the printer ; it must be restored according to the order of the melody reproduced *loc. cit.* 543 f. I must leave to those especially concerned with the music of the 14th c. to judge whether these are isolated examples or not (cf. *Revue belge de Musicologie* I 97). R. von Ficker in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* VII 22 had preceded me in relation to two of the compositions concerned. H. Besseler, ZM. XI 3, opposed arguments which I am ready to take into consideration, but which do not seem to me to do away with the question, since the melodic concordances which struck me occur on the same words, in the liturgical melody and the polyphonic setting, and the fact is that my examples were not chosen *ad hoc*, but they were such as I had just come across. On the other hand, M. Bukofzer accepted my claim as it was advanced (s. his dissertation, 1936, p. 116), while he disavowed it in *Musical Quarterly* XXXIV 527-529, even interpreting his previous consent as a dissent.

The argument which he adds to those of Besseler is that the treatment of liturgical melodies in the Old Hall Ms., an English collection of the 15th c., is not the same as in my examples — a fact which I admit with some reserve, but which does not exclude that other composers may have proceeded otherwise. (See Note 3). Dom Anselm Hughes, in the Introduction to the third volume of the Old Hall Ms. edition, p. XIII-XV, had described the treatment to which the liturgical melody is there subjected in terms not implying such a sharp contrast ; yet he did not refer to my respective papers. I still await that which a systematic survey of the polyphonic Ordinary of the 14th c. will in this respect produce.

In comparison with such 14th c. compositions the motets which we have quoted as using liturgical melodies in the upper voice, are forerunners, and they are, in one respect, even more interesting, since we see here the *T. melody* intrude into the upper voices. Perhaps we must, within those motets, establish a chronological gradation, a freer treatment of the given melody in the T. having been first, and its radiation into the upper voices second. The freer handling of the melody in the T. has, by the way, a parallel in some settings of the Ordinary of the Mass in Worcester (cf. ZM. X 519 f.). I had tried, in ZM. X, to connect the polyphonic Ordinary of the 14th c. with the old art of tropes which, on the one hand, combined heterogeneous melodies with the liturgical ones and, on the other, tended to develop the latter by ornament and variation ; and now it seems that we have approached that old art by *two* intermediating links. Of course a filiation of this kind does not exclude differences of physiognomy and of aesthetic aim. Yet the principle in itself is important, since it supposes a melodic inventiveness which dared to interfere with the liturgical melodies precisely because some inner community continued to extist with them (respectively, in France, it came again to exist), these melodies not (or no longer) being perceived as something dead, obsolete or extraneous.

If, as it is our impression, this sort of « conservativeness with progressive results » was the affair of England rather than of France, this would be in accord with the fact that the art of « trope » (which, of course, I take in the melodic and not, as is often done, in the textual sense) continued to flourish in England in the 13th c., and even the early 14th, in passing over into the realm of polyphony ; we see this by the polyphonic tropes of English provenance contained in W_1 and other English Mss. (among them the Worcester fragments). That does not mean that the French motet of the first half of the 14th c. which developed from « isoperiodical » to « isorhythmical » arrangement (s. above, p. 75), was devoid of melodical substance, but here it is rather secular and vulgar music which seems to stand n the back ground (cf., e. g., the motet by Ph. de Vitry, J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation*, No. 78, or that by G. de Machaut,

loc. cit., No. 15). It is true that English polyphony is likewise often inspired by vulgar song. Nevertheless it remained more than in France in inner community with the liturgical melody and, by the way, the vulgar in English music has a more heavy character than in France. This community having better survived in England, had then to be revived in France, a process which seems to have begun in the second half of the 14th c. and which continued in the 15th. Indeed it seems that the Franco-Flemish art of the 15th c. was indebted to England not only as to « fresque concordance », i. e., harmony, but also in this respect.

We must, however, leave to those especially concerned with the polyphony of the 15th c., to give the true history of this interesting compositional device, the paraphrasing of a given melody. Our aim was only to note some antecedents.

Another significant aspect of the 15th c. evolution and, more so, of that of the 16th c., is the increasing tendency to nourish the voices of a polyphonic composition with the same melodic stuff. In this respect the last motet from Arsenal 135 and that from the Cambridge Gonville Ms. may be considered as forerunners (cf. above, p. 91), but that applies in another way also to some of those compositions of the Ordinary where the « paraphrase » may involve some « wandering » of the given melody from one voice to another. I should add that the idea of submitting different voices to the influence of one given melody does not necessarily imply imitation, although the latter is also a means of linking up the voices.

As to compositions of the early 15th c., a remarkable example is Dufay's *Anima mea liquefacta est*, DTO. XXVII 1, 20. Cf. A. Orel in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* VII, 1920, p. 87, as to this, and p. 62-63 and 82-84, as to other compositions.

There is yet a side-line of the evolution represented by compositions in which one preexistent melody gives the material for one voice and another for another. This method is, of course, kindred to that just mentioned : whether they are « stuffed » from one or from different sources, the voices are stuffed, and there are indeed transitions between both methods. There is also a clear affinity between this method and that, mentioned formerly, of adorning or paraphrasing a given melody, since the coexistence of two given melodies involves in general a freer treatment of them ; indeed the last motet from Arsenal 135 and that from Cambridge Gonville may be considered in each of these three aspects. The *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris* from the Summer Canon Ms. seems to be an antecedent going back far into the 13th c.

We shall not forget that the combination of two preexistent melodies, implying mutual or one-sided accommodation, was also known in France : cf. F. Ludwig, Samm. V 215 as to Mo. 7, 265, whose M. is a Rondeau melody and whose T. uses a liturgical fragment, while the Tr. quotes passages from another motet Tr. (thus, three melodies are even drawn upon simultaneously). Yet we have here more than in our English examples the impression of ingenious combination and less of melodic paraphrase.

As concerns the 15th c., both examples mentioned above (III p. 62 f) are English, but we ought again not to forget five examples which A. Orel adduced in his valuable study devoted to Trent motets (*Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* VII 67 and 69), of which none is English (or, at least, none ascribed to an English composer). One of these is Dufay's motet *Ecclesie militantis* which has since appeared in DTO. XL and the Dufay edition of the American Institute of Musicology. (Orel had supposed that even three cantus firmi are employed, but that does not seem to be confirmed and the reason given by Orel for the third is, indeed, not sufficient ; cf. the Critical notes in the edition, fascicle 2, p. xxxi, by G. de Van, where two cantus firmi are identified, as they were already by R. von Ficker in DTO. ; there are, then, two Tenors, each with its own cantus firmus, and there is no « paraphrase »). Another case is that of the anonymous *Alma redemptoris*, DTO. XXVII 1, 37 ; (here Orel is right in observing that the upper voice is an adorned version of the Antiphon *Alma* and the second half of the T. is a somewhat less adorned version of the first half of the Antiphon *Ave regina*, but he does not seem to have noticed that the first half of the T., marked with *Et genitorem* in the edition, is nothing else than the melody of *tuum sanctum genitorem* from the same Antiphon *Alma* and is, thus, in substance the same as the melody to these words in the middle of the upper voice ; the first half of the T. quotes this melody twice and adds a development based on the same melody). It is true that when il concerns the Franco-Flemish art of the first half of the 15th c., the question is always how far it may have already been influenced by English art. Again, we leave it to specialists of the 15th c. music to study in detail the technique of combining different Cantus firmi in one composition. As is known, the future belonged not to this method, but to that deriving the material of all the voices from one source, while the former was pushed into the position of a curiosity or joke (the « Quodlibet »).

* * *

The question may then remain in suspense as concerns the rôle played by English musicians in the transformations going on in the first half of the 15th c., transformations which concerned the rhythm, melody, counterpoint and, last but not least, the harmony. We have at any rate seen that England was more active in the field of the motet than one had supposed, and this at the very epoch

when the compositions of Mo. 4 originated, i. e., in the middle of the 13th c. or even earlier. This does not on the other hand exclude that it remained a characteristic of English musical production not to have devoted itself to the motet so exclusively as did the « progressive » circles in France. While the *Speculum musicae*, composed at Liége in the early 14th c., deplores that *cantus organici* (« Choralbearbeitungen ») and Conductus have fallen into disuse and only the motet and the Cantilena are in use, England continued to cultivate those genera and, as history has shown, one procedure has proved to be fertile as the other.

Since several motets of English provenance are present in Mo. 4, we must conclude that not only England displayed in this field its own taste very soon after the disappearance of the Notre Dame School, but also notice of that was taken on the Continent. The general trend of English taste in the second half on the 13th and the first half of the 14th c. can, in comparison with French, be described as less reflective and studied, more bent on aesthetic perceptibility, tending to compact vocal sonority and to establishing a close relation between the voices, and preferring melodic to rhythmic inventiveness (though one must not lay too much stress on such generalizations, and there were surely also in France circles which were less « up to date »). Perhaps there is on the English side also more complaisance towards tendencies coming from the field of non-learned music. In this respect the Summer Canon is an impressive example which, at the same time, shows that the vulgar in England is not quite the same as the vulgar in France. If it is permitted to condense a series of impressions in one word, I should take the German word « bieder » (which can be translated only by the combination of two English words, namely, « honest » and « simple ») for characterizing English behaviour as against French within the culture of that epoch ; or, as a translator of a French poem at the beginning of the 15th c. expressed it :

> Have me excused, my name is John Lidgate,
> Rude of language, I was not born in France.

The attempt to delimit the English contribution to the Notre Dame Ms. W_1, which I undertook in *The Musical Times* of June, 1932, and August, 1933, concerned 1) compositions belonging to the classical Notre Dame genera, *Choralbearbeitung* and Conductus ; 2) polyphonic tropes to the Ordinary, which, on the one hand, apply methods used in the *Choralbearbeitung* and, on the other, display characteristics proper to the Conductus ; (here I leave aside the 11th fascicle of W_1, whose position is a special one, see above, III p. 89 f). It is not sure whether there is at all an English contribution in the field of the motet and, at any rate, the motet occupies in this Ms.

a position which is, at the same time, insignificant and assimilated to the Conductus — a fact which I have tried to explain in chapter VIII.

By tight scientific handling of the material we shall once be probably able to bring such motets as we have dealt with into their true historical relation to the varied contents of W_1, as well as to the lost Reading collection and the Worcester fragments. All this is a task not less important or attractive, than to distinguish the rôle of France (France in the old sense, i. e., Northern France) from that played by England in the field of Gothic architecture. A comprehensive study of 13th c. music will of course have to take in account also that which happened in other countries, as Italy, Spain, and Western Germany ; yet the main « international » problem seems to be that of the Franco-English relations.

In returning to the Summer Canon I think that the indications of vigorous English activity in the middle of the 13th c., appearing in the older part of Mo., make the appearance of the piece at that epoch seem less strange. As to its binary rhythm, our survey seems likewise to produce some support (cf. above, p. 71 and III p. 74), quite apart from the fact, long since known, of the occurrence of a French motet in binary rhythm in Mo. 5 (cf. above, p. 79 f ; I should say that if this could happen in France, it is the less surprising in England). As to the canonic device itself, we may remember cases of textual or rhythmic imitation bordering with melodic imitation, as cited above (p. 74 and 75). It is true that these cases concern Mo. 7, i. e., a later part of Mo. ; yet I am not at all of the opinion that direct canon must be later than veiled or eluded canon. It has sometimes been observed that canonic sections occur « already » in Notre Dame compositions ; yet I am not at all sure that in this case the « invention » of the device must be ascribed to the learned musicians of Notre Dame.

However, as has been said, the Summer Canon preserves still a degree of isolation. As to chronology (cf. above, III p. 56 f), one of the results of the reconsideration of the problem, provoked by Bukofzer's challenge, is that the paleographers who has said « ca. 1240 », taking both Reading calendars as evidence, had better said « probably between 1240 and 1260 ».

The latter is, as far as I see, also the opinion of Mr. Schofield. I see from N. Pirrotta's paper in *Musica disciplina* II 205 ff., that we have independently of each other felt the impulse to give an echo to the interesting papers by M. Bukofzer and B. Schofield. I am glad to see that I am nearly in agreement with him as to one idea : that the Summer Canon, not being in the line of « normal » evolution as reflected by musical theory, cannot exclusively be subjected to criteria taken from this quarter. In a broader sense it is the problem of « progressiveness » which is at stake, this problem to which N. Pirrotta devotes some pertinent remarks

and which I have at other occasions touched upon in a rather sceptical mood ; (at the very beginnings of my scientific career I already opposed a conception of history which seems to me too one-sidedly « linear » : *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* I, 1924, à propos of the 11th fascicle of W_1). The general question is, how much England and Italy, whose positions were in a way peripheral, have, besides « central » France, contributed to the changes going on in the music of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. (I have yet to express my thanks to the Rev. Anselm Hughes who, with his habitual kindness, has helped me to get some Worcester photographs.)

Appendix I : The Huelgas Ms.

Another source in which motets of English provenance could be looked for is a Spanish Ms. of the first half of the 14th c., edited by H. Anglès under the title *El Codex musical de Las Huelgas* (1931, the first volume containing the introduction, the second the facsimile and the third the transcription).

In noting those of the Mo. motets which we have in the first place singled out as being possibly English (i. e., those enumerated above p. 73 ff.), we find that the following are contained in Hu. (= Las Huelgas) :

Mo. 4, 53 (above, III p. 60 ff.) is Hu. No. 101 ;
Mo. 4, 58 (above, p. 81) is Hu. No. 107 ;
Mo. 7, 275 (above, p. 75) is Hu. No. 133 ;
Mo. 7, 285 (above, p. 80) is Hu. No. 121.

We might yet add that Mo. 4, 62 and Mo. 4, 57 (quoted above, p. 69 and 81 as occurring also in English Mss.) are Hu. No. 128 and 140 ; and Mo. 3, 40, 4, 52, 4, 56 and 7, 283 (quoted above, p. 83 ff. as occurring in Arsenal 125) are Hu. No. 157, 104 = 137, 125, 127. The reader may accordingly profit from Anglès' commentaries to these motets. It is interesting that Mo. 7, 284 and 285 follow each other in Hu. (No. 120 and 121), as they do in Mo., while Mo. 7, 283 and 282 are adjacent in Arsenal 135 (Nos. 6 and 7).

We shall not enter a comparison of the different versions concerned and shall pass over to another composition, Hu. No. 134, considered by the editor as a double Conductus, which seems to be most conspicuous with regard to our problem. It is a « rondellus » as described above (III p. 82 f.) for 2 voices. It begins with a melism of 3 treble bars, after which a period of 5 bars, $\frac{A}{B}$, is repeated as $\frac{B}{A}$ and a period of 4 bars, $\frac{C}{D}$, is repeated as $\frac{D}{C}$ (the correspondences go farther than stated by H. Anglès, although there is no complete identity) ; the close is a melismatical and, in part, hoketing *Amen.*

This structure is enriched in so far as the period of 5 bars, as well as that of 4, contains a partial repetition. Another feature of this composition whose voices, according to Anglès, « sing marvellously », is the skilful design of the text which begins all its verses with C in one voice and D in the other ; I wonder whether that is not a monogram. We cannot yet be sure that this composition is English ; but it stands apart in its surroundings, and some corrupt passages which occur in the music as in the text, indicate that it did not originate in the milieu where it was written down. It is true that Hu. contains also a *Benedicamus domino* in 3 parts, which is wholly based on voice exchange and taken from the Notre Dame repertory (Hu. No. 40, cf. p. 132 in H. Husmann's edition *Die 3- und 4-stimmigen Organa*) ; yet this is not the same category and form type.

This composition is precisely preceded in Hu. by a motet which has attracted our attention, Mo. 7, 275 = Hu. No. 133. Now in extending this neighbourhood and considering, on the one hand, Hu. No. 132 and, on the other, Hu. No. 135, we again meet pieces whose characteristics may arouse our « suspicion ». They are motets known hitherto only from this Spanish Ms.

Hu. No. 132 is a motet for 3 voices with two different (yet assonant) texts in the upper voices which, however, could have been sung to one text, since they are in conformity as to rhythm. The T. has its pauses simultaneously with the upper voices. Its melody comprises two periods of 4 bars and is repeated five times ; it has no liturgical provenance mark and is, as thinks Anglès, possibly secular (cf. above, p. 76 and 81). Anglès speaks of voice exchange. Now in symbolizing the upper voices accompanying the first T. exposition by $\begin{matrix} a\ b \\ c\ b_1 \end{matrix}$, I should rather say that the phrase b recurs several times simultaneously with the second T. phrase, as do a and c, but less frequently, in conjunction with the first T. phrase. It is a step in the direction of « isomelodicity » (cf. above, p. 80 f.), and we may doubt about how far such repetitions are the result of aesthetic tendencies or of lack of inventiveness. Another remarkable feature of this motet is its binary rhythm which proceeds by semibreves and breves in the regular scheme of the (diminished) third mode (if we should imagine the squares of the breves provided with tails, it would be « English mensural notation »).

Hu. No. 135 has, above a T. melody repeated four times whose source is again unknown, two voices whose incisions coincide often one with another and with the T. One of the upper voices frequently has a melism simultaneously with a syllabic passage in the other voice, a feature which reminds us of the English « rondellus ». The close is a melismatic *Amen*. The Tr. text is that of a Sanctus trope which had also been utilised as sequence.

Before attaining conclusive results Hu. must evidently be subjected to a more extensive study in comparison with English collections, as also with other Spanish collections as, e. g., Barcelona, Orfeo 1. The result will very possibly be that the music of « peripheral » areas as England and Spain had some characteristics distinguishing it from that of the Paris area and, in general, a more « conservative » trend. Yet that does not exclude that musical material and methods of composition may have wandered from England to Spain.

Appendix II : Pseudo-Aristoteles
(cf. above, p. 83)

J. Wolf (*Geschichte der Mensuralnotation*, 1904, p. 8) has observed that the « conjuncture » of three rhombs the first of which has at the left an obliquely descending stroke, occurs in the Summer Canon Ms. on f. 8′ (yet it occurs even in the Canon itself). (See Note 4). Therefore he concludes too hastily (p. 13) that the treatise of Pseudo-Aristoteles (CS. I 251 ff.) must be dated to ca. 1240, and (*Handbuch der Notationskunde* I 243) that Pseudo-Aristoteles was an Englishman. H. Sowa (*Ein anonymer Musiktraktat*, 1930, p. xvii) is more right in dating it as ca. 1275. At the same time Sowa substantiates a supposition uttered by W. Niemann, according to which Pseudo-Aristoteles would be identical with one Lambertus mentioned by Johannes de Grocheo (Samm. I 102).

I found in the Ms. Paris, B. N. lat. 5185CC, f. 356′, a curious ordinance from 1282 which may refer to our author : « Item super quarto articulo (capituli), videlicet de quodam scriptore Aristotile nomine, capto extra claustrum et terram ecclesie Parisiensis per officialem Parisiensem, qui dicebatur tunc esse de familia domini Johannis Moreti canonici Parisiensis : pronuntiamus, statuimus et ordinamus : episcopum seu officialem Parisiensem non teneri ad restitutionem dicti Aristotelis, cum non sit probatum dictum Aristotilem scriptorem tunc esse vel fuisse de familia dicti domini Johannis ». It appears therefrom that Pseudo-Aristoteles who had sought « liberty » outside of the Paris Notre Dame cloister, had been seized by the episcopal judge, but the claim of the chapter to his restitution was not admitted by the bishop, since it had not been proved that he was, at least at the moment when he was seized, a member of the « family » of canon Johannes Moretus.

Appendix III : The question of appoggiatura
(cf. above, p. 79)

While considering in chapter VI some Mo. motets, we were faced with the question of whether a fourth preceding a third could have been intended as an appoggiatura. That leads naturally to a question of a more general character : to what extent had the notion of appoggiatura come to the consciousness of musical theory in the 13th c. ?

I discussed once a passage from Anonymus IV (CS. I 358b) which clearly refers to the sustained final appoggiatura of the second, as practised in Notre Dame music (*Atti del terzo congresso intern. di musica, Firenze* 1938, 1940, p. 52 f.). Yet the theoretician who stands foremost in this respect is Johannes de Garlandia. One passage from him has indeed been adduced in this connection — that reproduced in CS. I 107a ; yet in reality it is not more applicable to appoggiatura than to passing dissonance. The following passage, printed CS. I 106b, seems more to the point : « Sic apparent VII discordantiae, et quae earum magis discordant et quae minus. Et notandum quod omnis discordantia ante perfectam concordantiam sive mediam aequipollet mediae. Et haec proprie sumitur ante unisonum vel diapason. Sciendum est quod nunquam ponitur discordantia ante perfectam concordantiam nisi causa coloris musicae. Haec de consonantiis sufficient ». (I follow S. M. Cserba's new edition of Garlandia's treatise as incorporated in that by Hieronymus of Moravia, p. 211 ; just as Coussemaker does, so also the new editor utilizes only the Paris Ms., that where the Garlandia treatise is preserved as part of that of Hieronymus).

This passage, however, implies a logical lacuna : where is the « improprie » completing the « proprie » ? It seems contradictory that the appoggiatura has, on the one hand, its proper place before the unison or the octave and that it is, on the other hand, admitted before these intervals only in the way of a licence.

We turn now to Rome, Vat. lat. 5325, a Ms. of French provenance from the 13th c., in which the Garlandia treatise is written down in its own right and not within that by Hieronymus, yet without the author's name. Coussemaker has reproduced from this Ms. only f. 12'-19' (CS. I 175-182) which is a variant version to a part of the treatise, while he neglected to make use of f. 20-30' where other parts of it are represented by variant versions.

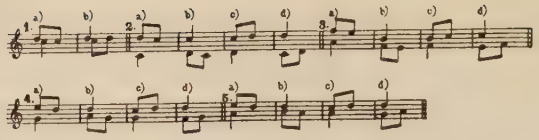
We may note by the way that the Discantus chapter of the treatise (CS. I 106-114) stands in the Vaticana Ms. on f. 23'-30' (where it breaks off with the words « Par contra imparem », CS. I 112b), and that this version does not contain the musical examples

reproduced by Coussemaker (and Cserba) according to the Paris Ms., but only examples which have been left blank, the staves having been drawn. In opposition to the textless examples of the Paris version, these have been furnished with one text, but this seems rather paradoxical, since the combination of different rhythmical modes, which was to be illustrated by the examples, would in general suppose a text for every voice.

The appoggiatura passage, corresponding to CS. I 106b, stands on f. 23-23' of the Vaticana Ms. The Coussemaker version having closed the first paragraph of 106b with « X ad octo » (it must, of course, be « IX ad VIII », as in the Cserba edition), our Ms. continues in replacing the passage quoted above by the following. « Et hoc sufficit ad praesens de consonantiis, sive discordantiis vel concordantiis in numeris. Sciendum est quod omnis dissonantia ante perfectam concordantiam sive mediam aequipollet concordantiae mediae, et hoc proprie dicitur scilicet ante unisonum et diapason ». (Here space is left for two examples, the staves having been drawn ; below them is written : *Ante unisonum tonum* and *Tonus ante diapason*). « Et sic de singulis. Et improprie sumitur ante mediam, sed multum invenitur in multis partibus organi, ut tonus ante diapente, ut in hoc exemplo ». (Space for two examples, one being subscribed *Semitonus ante diapente* and the other *Tonus ante diapente*). (f. 23') (Space for one example, subscribed *Tonus ante diatessaron*). « Et sciendum quod nunquam dissonantia aliqua ante imperfectam concordantiam, nisi sit causa coloris sive pulchritudinis musicae. Et hoc sufficit de perfectis sive imperfectis sive mediis ad praesens ». The next paragraph is : « Sequitur de discantu. Habito superius de modo, scil. quid modus est et quot sunt, de figuris vel notis, de pausationibus, de consonantiis, modo habendum est de discantu. Unde discantus est... » (as in Coussemaker and Cserba).

In comparing this version with that of the Paris Ms. it appears that the former represents a complete system. A dissonance preceding a perfect concordance (i. e., unison or octave) or a medium one (fifth or fourth) is by principle (by a rather scholastic principle) assimilated to a medium one ; the proper place of this dissonance is before the unison and the octave (indeed in this case its rôle is most obvious and clear) ; improperly it can be used before the fifth or fourth (it is a pity that the examples illustrating this are lacking) ; before an *imperfect* concordance (i. e., the major or minor third) this dissonance ought not to be made use of, except in the way of a special embellishment.

I am not sure that the author has in view ascending appoggiatura as well as descending ; but supposing this to be the case, the subscriptions to the examples point to the following :



—, the half-tone appoggiatura being applied only to the fifth, not to the unison, the octave and the fourth. However not all of these appoggiaturas are dissonances or discordances ; according to the author's classification, 4. b) c) and 5. a) b) c) d) would be consonant appoggiaturas. Had the author really all these cases before his eyes? It is, at any rate, probable that he had a glimpse of a consonance being shifted to the function of a dissonance. As to the appoggiatura to the third, not represented in the examples, it can be only the fourth or second in descending, and the second or fourth in ascending.

It would be interesting to compare this system to what we find in practice, especially in Notre Dame and S. Martial polyphony. That is again a task which we leave to the future ; yet we may provisionally note that the appoggiatura plays here an important rôle, that to the unison, the octave and the fifth being prominent and that to the fourth and third appearing in a less decided way. The fact that our author takes into consideration the appoggiatura to the third as that to the fourth (things which, in our « historical » perspective, would seem to exclude each other, cf. above, p. 79), shows how two-faced and unstable the perception of consonance was at this stage (already at this stage !).

Appendix IV : The sacred and the secular.

The relation between sacred and secular music has been several times touched upon in this survey, but without entering into the essential of the distinction between them. This would, indeed, require a special study and, as historians, we must be careful not to consider the question from our point of view only, but to inquire how it may have been viewed by the period in question. I think that the first musical historian to have considered the question in a critical way was H. Abert, in his paper « Geistlich and Weltlich in der Musik » (*Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* XIX, 1925, 397 ff.). When handling this subject we must further distinguish such shades (« nuances ») as : the sacred — the ecclesiastical — the liturgical — the spiritual and (eventually) the

religious. It is known that in the middle ages the « secular » had intruded into the realm of the « ecclesiastical » in a surprising way (indeed, this sort of expansion seems to have taken place at all times), and ecclesiastical writers have often opposed this tendency (yet exactly what they mean is always subject to study). It seems that, within the ecclesiastical chant proper (the liturgical), the Ordinary of the Mass has experienced this influx in a particular degree (I may quote, as example, the Sanctus *Sussen grunt*, the Sanctus *Meientalle* and the Sanctus *Rosengarten*, contained in a late mediaeval gradual at Bamberg, R. B. 169) ; and the Mass Ordinary is, at the same time, that department of liturgical melody which was by preference subjected to the methods of polyphonic and measured music, from the late middle ages onwards ; (a curious example of secular song intruding into a polyphonic setting of the Credo is mentioned in *Revue belge de musicologie* I 97). At the same time we have to consider the application of measured rhythm (and notation) to the Ordinary *without* involving polyphony, a practice for which examples are furnished by continental, as well as by insular Mss. There is accordingly nothing surprising in the fact that some melodies, discovered by H. M. Bannister in a 15th c. Ms., which were taken by F. Ludwig as motet Tenors and which gave me the impression of dance melodies (*Acta* X 29), were afterwards found by M. Bukofzer to occur elsewhere (and even to have, probably, been composed) as Kyrie melodies ; (what surprises me is rather the pleasure which this writer takes in speaking of an « abortive » discovery ; furthermore, he alleges that these melodies were taken by me as basses-dances, which is not the case ; cf. his *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, 1950, 191). But the problem is puzzling also within the field of the motet and here we meet the case, not yet sufficiently explained, of the bilingual motets with each a secular and a sacred text, contained in Mo. 3 (Nos. 36-46). Are they to be understood as an incursion of secular poetry (represented by the Tr.) into the church, or of sacred poetry (represented by the M.) into the field of secular music ? A third alternative would be to suppose that they could have been sung within the service with removal of the Tr. text, i. e., in singing the Tr. without text, but that is not probable since the Tr. is, in some cases, very declamatory in style. As between the first two alternatives, the second appears at first sight to be more plausible. But what may have been in this case the motive for this strange combination ? I think it may be summarily described as the idea of placing worldly love in the perspective of heavenly love, and that gives us a glimpse of the philosophy of the epoch. Indeed 8 of the 11 Latin Moteti glorify the holy Virgin-Mother ; one is a warning against false men (No. 37), one a glorification of the Cross as source of real (definitive) joy (No. 41, where an

actual contrast may have been intended), and one a paraphrase of the Lord's promise to send the Holy Spirit for comforting us after his Ascension (No. 42). Yet in one of these Tr. texts there is no question of love at all (No. 46 : a complaint about the falsehood of the world). The love texts in general lay stress on loyalty ; or they tell of a love which has failed ; and even the enumeration of the physical qualities of the beloved, as in the Tr. of No. 38, may have been related to the epitheta bestowed on Mary in the M. We have, then, the impression that an author who had attained a certain degree of contemplation took pleasure in such parallels in which secular love is placed into an aspect of relativity. It is true that we are not sure whether the bilingual form of this music is its oldest motet form, but this inner correlation would exist also if the Tr. had been associated with a preexistent M. (the Tr. text in the Mo. version seems, at any rate, to be older than the Latin Tripla associated with some of the Moteti in the version of the Bamberg Ms., cf. LR. 404-406 and Ludwig in AM. V 200). We may add that the T. appears also in several cases to have been fittingly chosen : *Et gaudebit* (Nos. 36 and 42), *Letabitur* (No. 38), *Sustinere* (No. 41, with the M. celebrating the Cross), *Regnat* (No. 44 : the Tr. tells of a girl who, by fidelity to her friend, refuses the proposals of the narrator and the M. glorifies Mary in whose bosom the faithful will find the peace of God, Mary who « reigns » in the heaven with her son) ; perhaps even the Easter T. *Hec dies* in No. 45 is related to the spring picture given by the lover in the Tr. For the rest we must remember that, as F. Ludwig has pointed out (Samm. V 187), such bilingual motets are relatively rare ; these 11 examples form the largest extant collection, and while 10 of them recur in the Bamberg Ms., only 4 have retained their bilingual form. On the other hand, we have to remember the *Ite missa est* motet which closes the « Mass of Tournai ». Notwithstanding its French secular Tr. text, it can hardly be denied that this motet was sung in that form at the close of the Mass (cf. *Acta* IV 51 f. and *Revue belge de Musicologie* I 97). The Latin text in the M. is an admonition very fittingly directed at this moment to the rich to help the poor, while the Tr. speaks of love in a very courtly manner.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

[1] (Referring to p. 94) With regard to the compositions quoted in this paragraph I should add some references. A passage from *Adjuva* has been published in *The Musical Times* 1933, 702. *Luto* is published by L. Ellinwood in *The Musical Quarterly* XXVII 191, without regard to the accentuation of the rhyme syllable. *Sursum corda* contains an early example of « double counterpoint », of which the oldest case I have seen is a troped *Benedicamus* in an English Ms. of the early 13th c., Cambridge Un. F I 17, reproduced in EEH. pl. 26 (examples occur also in Notre Dame Tripla which bear no indications of English origin as, e. g., the

Responsory *Virgo*, F f. 33', and the verse to the Responsory *Exiit*, F f. 18' ; the cases adduced by Y. Rokseth in *Mélanges... La Laurencie*, 1933, 5 ff., are from ca. 1248). *Procurans* and *Purgator* were already given by F. Gennrich in facsimile and in a transcription in 2. mode, ZM. XII 332 ff. *Sol sub* was published by Ellinwood, *loc. cit.* 192, but as to this I must observe that it is only the version of F and W_1, not that of St. Gall 383, in which the upper voice is at variance with the sequence form of the lower voice. We might also add *Quid tu vides Jeremia* of which two different three-voice compositions exist, both having the same melody in the lowest voice : of these the version in F is much less « tonal » as to harmony than that contained in W_1 and W_2 and, of the latter, W_1 has some parallel perfect chords (L. Ellinwood, *loc. cit.* 194, thinks that the composition in F differs from that contained in W_1 and W_2 only in the uppermost voice, but that is not my opinion ; his transcription again does not have regard to the accentuation of the rhyme syllable ; needless to say I cannot agree with the rubrics which this writer uses for grouping his material : « Vers-Hymns », « Chanson-Hymns », etc.).

[2] (Referring to p. 95) It is to the credit of W. Apel (*Notation*[4] 200) to have doubted the attribution of W_1 to the 14^{th} c. (an attribution which goes back to the catalogue of Wolfenbüttel Mss., by O. von Heinemann), yet I should not go so far as to date it from the middle of the 13^{th} c., i. e., the same epoch when F was probably written. The palaeographer whom I consulted, Prof. H. G. Wackernagel, was of the opinion that W_1 might be later than F by one generation, and he found its script also later than that of the Summer Canon. At the same time he warned me against uniform dating, since the evolution was different in different localities and therefore a definite dating would require a survey of the Mss. of the given area. We see that it is the same in palaeography as in music history. Catalogue compilers have often been anxious to « play safe » by too late dating.

[3] (Referring to p. 100) Cf. further M. Bukofzer, *Studies...*, 1950, p. 52.

[4] (Referring to p. 107) We may add that this form of Conjuncture occurs, in W_1, in the 11^{th} fascicle and in some Conductus (f. 80' and 175-176), and also the English theoretician Alfredus knows it (cf. J. Kromolicki, *Die Practica artis musicae des Amerus*, 1909, p. II and 27).

Basel

IL CODICE DI LUCCA
NINO PIRROTTA & ETTORE LI GOTTI

III.

IL REPERTORIO MUSICALE

NINO PIRROTTA (*Roma*)

La numerazione, le cifre della quale sono ancora in parte leggibili su alcuni dei fogli rinvenuti a Lucca e a Perugia, indica che almeno ottantacinque carte componevano in origine quelle che abbiamo designato come sezioni A e B del codice **Mn** (cfr. la prima parte di questo studio in *Musica Disciplina*, III, fasc. 2-4) ; altre dodici formano tuttora l'unico fascicolo, peraltro non completo, della sezione C ; le ventuno pergamene (quarantadue carte) in nostro possesso rappresentano dunque non più dei due quinti di quelle appartenenti al manoscritto prima che esso venisse smembrato e disperso. Tanto più notevole è pertanto il vasto apporto di composizioni non note già da altre fonti che esse ci forniscono : sul totale di 76 pezzi, completi o non, contenuti nei fogli superstiti di **Mn**, ben 51 sono del tutto nuovi e soltanto 25 si ritrovano in altri codici. Sotto tale aspetto il codice lucchese non trova possibilità di confronto, tra i manoscritti italiani di questo periodo contenenti musiche polifoniche, che nel codice Vaticano Rossi 215, anch'esso frammentario, del quale su 29 pezzi soltanto quattro si ritrovano in altre fonti [1]. Nel caso del codice Rossi 215 l'indipendenza del contenuto va posta senza dubbio in relazione col fatto che, a giudicare dalla scrittura, esso rimonta al più tardi al 1370 ; precede dunque di almeno una trentina d'anni le altre raccolte polifoniche italiane, che per la maggior parte si distribuiscono entro il primo trentennio del secolo XV ; nel suo repertorio le opere più recenti sono quelle della generazione

[1] Cfr. Besseler, « Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters : II. Die Motette etc. » in *AfMw*, 8, 1926, pp. 233-34. Pubblicazione dei testi poetici in E. Li Gotti, *Poesie musicali italiane del sec. XIV*, Palermo 1945 e nello studio postumo di U. Sesini, « Il canzoniere musicale trecentesco del Cod. Vat. Rossiano 215 » in *Studi medievali* (nuova serie) XVI, 1943-50, pp. 212-230, che fornisce anche i dati più precisi circa l'origine veneta del codice.

di Giovanni da Cascia, dalla quale invece le altre raccolte sogliono prendere le mosse. Non si può dire altrettanto del codice di Lucca, la cui datazione più o meno coincide con quella degli altri codici italiani ; sicchè le ragioni della diversità e novità del suo contenuto vanno cercate altrove che in questioni di data.

Pur attraverso le ampie lacune che essi presentano, i frammenti superstiti di **Mn** permettono di ricostruire le fasi principali della sua formazione. La prima fase della redazione dovette abbracciare per intero i fogli delle sezioni A e B ed essere opera esclusiva dello scrittore principale (l'eccezione costituita dalla composizione di Binchois notata nelle cc. 1*a'*-2*a*, è soltanto apparente perchè per inserire tale pezzo fu cancellata una composizione di Bartolino che vi era stata precedentemente notata dallo scrittore A). Le differenze indicate nella descrizione dei due gruppi di fogli, sono dovute non a diversità di mano, ma alla diversa qualità e rigatura delle pergamene adoperate ; le due sezioni sono inoltre accomunate dalla numerazione che le abbraccia entrambe, mentre non pare che continui sulle carte della sezione C [2].

È visibile l'intento del raccoglitore, in questa prima fase della redazione, di raggruppare le composizioni per autori. Sia che attingesse ad una sola fonte, o che — come è più probabile — venisse in possesso dei singoli pezzi da varie fonti, sembra che egli destinasse in precedenza i fogli o i fascicoli assegnati a ciascun compositore : a Bartolino da Padova almeno due diversi fascicoli, dei quali i fogli superstiti sono tutto ciò che ci è pervenuto della sezione A [3] ; ad Antonio Zacara da Teramo il fascicolo al quale appartenevano gli attuali fogli 5, 6 (Lucca) e 7 (Perugia) e la prima metà di quello seguente (cc. 8*a*-11*a* = LXII-LXVI della numerazione antica) ; ad Antonello da Caserta la seconda metà dello stesso fascicolo (cc. 11*a'*-8*b'*, già LXVI'-LXX') ; a Johannes Ciconia il fascicolo al quale appartenevano gli attuali fogli 13 (Lucca), 14 e 15 (Perugia) : ad Antonio da Cividale probabilmente il fascicolo del quale ci è pervenuto soltanto il foglio 12. Caratteristica dei gruppi di opere così

[2] Cfr. *Musica Disciplina*, III, 1949, p. 123. La scrittura del testo e delle note è più grande nelle pagine della sezione A per il maggior formato dei pentagrammi (che infatti sono otto per pagina, di contro ai dieci della sezione B), ma non presenta variazioni notevoli di forme, nè di abitudini grafiche. La rigatura determinò anche il maggior formato delle iniziali in principio di pagina nella sez. B, dove il primo pentagramma è disposto in modo da riservare uno spazio per l'iniziale.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 134. Certamente anche altri fogli precedenti e intermedi, oltre quelli pervenutici, contenevano composizioni di Bartolino ; non è probabile tuttavia che tutte le carte precedenti quelle in nostro possesso — una ventina almeno — fossero occupate dalle sue opere. **Mn** si apriva forse, come altri codici, con una raccolta di opere dei « classici » Iacopo da Bologna e Giovanni da Cascia, che figurano anche nel repertorio di Sollazzo (vedi nota 15).

costituiti è che il nome di ciascun compositore è normalmente scritto sul margine superiore delle carte in modo da completarsi su ciascuna coppia di pagine contigue [4]. Talvolta lo spazio assegnato ad un compositore venne a risultare insufficiente e altre composizioni sopravvenute dovettero essere inserite in altra parte della raccolta, dove lo spazio era stato calcolato con larghezza : si formarono così probabilmente i gruppi minori di composizioni di Antonio da Cividale (nn. 16 e 17) e di Johannes Ciconia (nn. 20 e 22). Tra un gruppo e l'altro trovano posto composizioni isolate di altri autori : Nicolò da Perugia, Zacharias, Giovanni da Foligno, Francesco Landino, e qualcuna anonima [5].

Nella sezione C la mancanza della numerazione e delle iniziali miniate, la cui apposizione soleva far parte delle operazioni conclusive dell'allestimento del manoscritto, mostra che essa fu aggregata alle prime due sezioni dopo che queste avevano già ricevuto quelle rifiniture. La seconda fase della redazione non potè tuttavia aver luogo molto tempo dopo la conclusione della prima perchè è ancora opera dello scrittore A, la cui mano è riconoscibile fino alla c. 19*b*. Il carattere di aggiunta è però evidente nel fatto che il raccoglitore trascurò completamente in questa seconda fase di indicare i nomi dei compositori [6], nè — per quanto è possibile giudicare dai pochi autori identificati e dallo stile delle opere rimaste anonime — si curò più di seguire un qualsiasi criterio di ordinamento.

Possiamo considerare come terza e ultima fase della redazione del codice le notazioni degli scrittori B e C, contenute rispettivamente nelle cc. 19*b*′-17*b* e 17*b*′-16*b*′, le ultime in nostro possesso

[4] La disposizione in gruppi ha importanza ai fini dell'attribuzione delle composizioni che si trovano situate nella parte inferiore delle pagine, e quindi non immediatamente a contatto col nome di autore che sta scritto sul margine superiore. Ho risolto infatti il problema in senso positivo — cioè attribuendo *tutte* le composizioni contenute nella coppia di pagine al compositore il cui nome è segnato sui due margini superiori — entro i gruppi principali ; in senso negativo nei gruppi secondari. Per esempio : ho considerato come opere di Ciconia i nn. 47, 49, 51 che si trovano nelle condizioni descritte per il primo caso ; non ritengo possibile attribuirgli il n. 21.

[5] La mancanza di parecchie carte precedenti e seguenti quelle che contengono le ballate nn. 18 e 19 del Landino non consente di decidere se esse facessero parte di un gruppo più numeroso di composizioni di tale maestro. Invece sono certamente isolate le composizioni di Nicolò da Perugia (n. 23), di Zacharias (n. 29) e di Jo. Fulginatis (n. 45). Ciascuna di esse ha anzi la prerogativa di stare sulla prima pagina di un fascicolo e ciò può fare pensare che i fascicoli fossero dapprima sciolti e indipendenti, la prima pagina bianca a modo di copertina, e che soltanto dopo la riunione dei fascicoli in un unico volume si provvedesse ad utilizzarne le pagine vuote.

Non mi pare che vi sia nessuna possibilità di attribuzione per i pezzi su testi francesi nn. 12-15 e 21.

[6] L'indicazione « D'Andrea stephanj » per il n. 61 è di mano dello scrittore B. La relativa nota 26 dell'Inventario (*Musica Disciplina*, III, p. 138) è incompleta per errore di stampa.

della sezione C. Ad esse va associata la ballata di Binchois, inserita, come si è già detto, nelle cc. 1*a'*-2*a*, e che costituisce l'unica eccezione all'impronta fondamentalmente fiorentina di queste aggiunte. Benchè resa incerta dall'essere tracciata su pergamene raschiate, la scrittura della ballata di Binchois — ultima inserita, poichè, per farle posto, bisognò cancellare una composizione di Bartolino — sembra uguale a quella dello scrittore B. Ciò dimostrerebbe l'alternarsi dei due scrittori, B e C, le cui grafie sono del resto molto simili, e quindi giustificherebbe l'attribuzione di tutte le loro notazioni ad uno stesso periodo di tempo.

Alla prima fase della redazione del codice risalgono 53 delle 76 composizioni superstiti di **Mn** ; alla seconda 16 ; alla terza (inclusa la ballata di Binchois) 7. Ma le sezioni A e B del codice, che contengono il primo gruppo, presentano fortissime lacune ; mentre invece la sezione C non comprendeva probabilmente altri fascicoli oltre l'unico pervenutoci, al quale mancano non più di uno o due fogli. Pertanto la prevalenza numerica della raccolta principale doveva essere in origine molto più accentuata che non sia adesso ; anche così tuttavia è essa quella che determina l'aspetto fondamentale del codice.

* * *

Le 53 composizioni della raccolta principale si ripartiscono, per autori : 10 a Bartolino da Padova, 4 ad Antonio da Cividale, 2 a Francesco Landino, 11 a Johannes Ciconia, 1 a Niccolò da Perugia, 9 ad Antonio Zacara da Teramo, 1 a « Magister Zacharias », 8 ad Antonello Marot da Caserta, 1 a Giovanni da Foligno. Anonime sono sei composizioni su testi francesi, per una sola delle quali attraverso le concordanze con altri codici si può riconoscere l'autore in Jo. Vaillant. Tranne Giovanni da Foligno, si tratta per tutti gli altri di compositori già noti ; tuttavia, se pure erano già noti gli autori, non lo era la maggior parte delle opere. Soltanto 18 di esse si trovano in altri codici : 9 (quasi tutte) di Bartolino, 1 di Antonio da Cividale, le 2 del Landino, 1 del Ciconia, 1 di Antonio Zacara, 1 di Zacharias, 2 di Antonello da Caserta e 1 di Jo. Vaillant. Tra i compositori si può distinguere un gruppo più recente, la cui attività appartiene interamente al secolo XV, ed uno un poco più antico ; fanno parte di quest'ultimo Bartolino da Padova, il Landino, Nicolò da Perugia, Zacharias e il Vaillant [7] ; non facilmente definibile è la posizione di Giovanni da Foligno.

[7] A. Pirro, *La musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI*, Strasbourg 1930, p. 9, ne cita una composizione datata da Parigi nel 1369 ; a Parigi il Vaillant tenne scuola di musica.

Il carmelitano fra Bartolino da Padova è il primo autore che ci si fa incontro nel codice [8]. Lo abbiamo assegnato ad un gruppo di maggiore anzianità fra gli artisti del codice ; non è possibile tuttavia consentire a considerarlo — sulle orme del Wolf [9] — come appartenente alla generazione più antica conosciuta di polifonisti italiani, accanto a Giovanni da Cascia e Jacopo da Bologna. Già il Ludwig notava che il testo letterario di una delle sue ballate, *Chi tempo ha*, è opera di un poeta nato nel 1351, Matteo Grifoni [10] ; d'altra parte egli intonò una ballata del padovano Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio, morto nel 1389, e quindi la sua attività di compositore doveva avere avuto inizio già prima di quell'anno [11]. Ne troviamo infatti conferma nel « Paradiso degli Alberti » di Giovanni da Prato, che lo cita come « famoso musico » nelle descrizioni di dotti conversari e di sereni intrattenimenti che si svolgevano verso il 1390 nella villa degli Alberti da cui lo scritto trae il titolo. Per quale tramite la sua fama fosse giunta a Firenze ce lo dice il fatto che Giovanni da Prato pone l'esecuzione dei suoi madrigali in una giornata nella quale la comitiva riunita nel « Paradiso » aveva eletto a presiedere ai propri svaghi e conversari un esule padovano, il dotto Marsilio di Santa Sofia [12].

La citazione di Giovanni da Prato, se vale ad attestare una certa maturità d'anni e d'arte che Bartolino doveva avere già raggiunto verso il 1390, non corrisponde tuttavia ad una effettiva penetrazione delle sue opere nel corrente repertorio di musiche polifoniche eseguito a Firenze ; penetrazione che deve essere effettivamente avvenuta molto più tardi a giudicare dalla rarità delle opere di Bartolino nei codici fiorentini, ad eccezione che nell'ultimo, e sensibilmente più tardo, di essi, il codice Squarcialupi (**FL**) [13]. Sembrerà

[8] Cfr. la precedente nota 3.

[9] *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation*, Leipzig 1904, I, p. 274 e sgg. F. Ghisi, « Bartolino da Padua » in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, fasc. 7, 1951, col. 1349-50, accoglie la cronologia da me proposta.

[10] Cfr. la recensione all'opera precedentemente citata del Wolf, in *SIMG*, VI, 1904-1905, p. 636.

[11] E. Li Gotti, *La poesia musicale italiana del sec. XIV*, Palermo 1944, p. 88.

[12] Giovanni da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti* a cura di A. Wesselofsky, Bologna 1867, III, p. 170. Esuli padovani trovarono asilo a Firenze durante l'occupazione di Padova da parte dei Visconti nel 1388-89 ; ma Marsilio di S. Sofia vi si recò dopo la restaurazione dei Carraresi, essendosi compromesso col favorire i Visconti durante l'occupazione.

[13] Una sola composizione di Bartolino, la ballata *Per un verde boschetto*, è compresa nella prima stesura del più antico codice fiorentino, **FP** (ca. 1400) ; qualche decennio più tardi vi fu aggiunto il madrigale *La douce cere*, peraltro sotto il nome di « fra Bartolino da *Perugia* ». Gli stessi due pezzi si ritrovano anche in **Lo** (*ca.* 1425), che contiene in tutto 5 composizioni di Bartolino, e in **P** (*ca.* 1430) che ne ha 4. Per contro il codice Squarcialupi (**FL**) contiene di Bartolino ben 37 composizioni — tutte quelle finora conosciute, tranne la ballata *Serva ciascuno, unicum* di **Mn** — superando dunque anche il codice **PR**, proveniente dall'Italia Settentrionale, che ne ha soltanto 25. **FL**, che per lo stile della scrittura e della de-

dunque strano, poichè abbiamo esposta la convinzione che il codice **Mn** sia di origine lucchese, constatare che in esso figura, in contrasto a ciò che si è detto dei codici fiorentini, un numero considerevole di composizioni di Bartolino, una delle quali, perfino, la ballata *Serva ciascuno* (n. 3), non è data da nessun altro codice. Questa divergenza, e molte altre che andranno via via emergendo nel corso del nostro esame, valgono, oltre che a definire l'orientamento particolare di **Mn**, a mettere in luce il carattere chiuso ed assolutamente peculiare della tradizione e della pratica polifonica fiorentina. Mentre la produzione polifonica fiorentina, e sopratutto la ballata del Landino e dei suoi contemporanei, si diffondeva largamente in tutte le altre regioni italiane, l'ambiente della città del fiore restò per lungo tempo fedele alla propria tradizione stilistica, non ammettendo, se non con vivissima riluttanza, opere e influenze di altra origine. Il fatto che i compositori rappresentati con maggior numero di opere in **Mn**, come il Ciconia, Antonello da Caserta, Antonio Zacara e lo stesso Antonio da Cividale, siano quasi del tutto sconosciuti ai codici fiorentini [14] mostra come l'atteggiamento di questa tradizione presentasse caratteri di diversità non soltanto rispetto ai centri polifonici dell'Italia settentrionale, ma anche nei riguardi di una città appartenente come Lucca alla stessa Toscana. Un'altra fonte ci pone invece a conoscenza di un repertorio che presenta le maggiori affinità con quello di **Mn** ; ma è purtroppo una fonte soltanto letteraria, i sonetti del « *Liber Saporecti* » di Simone Prodenziani da Orvieto, contenenti la descrizione di sette serate musicali delle quali è protagonista un immaginario Sollazzo, esperto di ogni arte musicale [15]. In aggiunta alle numerose concordanze, che abbiamo citato, fra le composizioni di **Mn** e le opere polifoniche sia fiorentine che setten-

corazione miniata, va ritenuto non anteriore, e probabilmente più recente, del 1440, è una raccolta di carattere umanistico, non strumento destinato all'uso pratico, ma ornamento di una biblioteca di erudito e teca preziosa destinata a raccogliere e custodire una tradizione artistica luminosa ma già spenta. Il raccoglitore — probabilmente lo stesso Antonio Squarcialupi (1416-80), che fu contemporaneo del celebre libraio Vespasiano da Bisticci e come lui visse nell'ambiente mediceo — si avvalse di un materiale abbondantissimo, certamente frutto di lunghe e pazienti ricerche, nel quale figurano numerosi *unica* anche dei compositori più antichi e famosi.

[14] Antonio Zacara e Antonello da Caserta non compaiono in nessuno dei codici fiorentini conosciuti. Del Ciconia una sola composizione, senza nome di autore, è delle ultime aggiunte al codice **P** ; un'altra, la ballata *O rosa bella*, figura in un codice di data e contenuto sensibilmente più recenti, il ms. **RU²**. Di Antonio da Cividale *Longtemps* figura nel codice **FP** come una delle composizioni aggiunte in fondo al ms.

[15] Vedi « Appendice B. I sonetti musicali » in S. Debenedetti, *Il « Sollazzo »* etc., Torino 1922, pp. 167 e sgg. Secondo il Debenedetti (*ibidem*, p. 33) la composizione del *Liber Saporecti*, che fa da cornice alle novelle del *Liber Solatii*, è anteriore al 1417 perchè in uno dei sonetti che lo compongono è rivolta preghiera alla Vergine perchè faccia cessare la « risia », cioè lo scisma.

trionali eseguite da Sollazzo [16], è significativo il fatto che i pochi compositori esplicitamente citati per nome siano quasi tutti quelli che hanno maggior rilievo in **Mn**: il Landino, Zacara, fra Bartolino, il Ciconia e un frate Biagio, non facilmente identificabile [17]. Sia **Mn** che i sonetti del Prodenziani (composti non oltre il 1417) sono esponenti di una cultura polifonica delle regioni dell'Italia centro-meridionale, che o per la mancanza di una propria tradizione profondamente radicata, o in conseguenza di avvenimenti politici, risultò molto più che quella fiorentina aperta ad influenze di ogni provenienza, pur non mancando di apportarvi, come proprio contributo, il sale di un gusto spiccatamente popolaresco.

Di contro alle dieci composizioni di Bartolino contenute nei frammenti di **Mn** — che dovevano far parte di un gruppo ben più numeroso, se ci è pervenuta soltanto una parte dei fascicoli destinati a contenerle [18] — Sollazzo esegue, nei sonetti del Prodenziani, ben cinque composizioni e inoltre un numero imprecisato di « rondel franceschi di fra Bartolino » [19]. Questa citazione di « rondel franceschi », dei quali peraltro nessuno ci è pervenuto, e l'essere Bartolino citato per nome dal Prodenziani insieme a compositori, tranne il Landino, certamente viventi, induce a credere che l'attività di lui, iniziata verso il 1375-80, si sia protratta almeno durante il primo decennio del secolo XV. Se così fosse, qualcuno dei suoi madrigali, anzichè essere antecedente al prevalere della ballata verificatosi nell'ultimo quarto del secolo XIV, potrebbe appartenere ad una ripresa del madrigale, verso il 1410, della quale avremo presto occasione di parlare più ampiamente.

Le dieci composizioni di **Mn**, non aggiungono niente di nuovo alla fisionomia artistica di Bartolino, anche se una di esse, la ballata *Serva ciascuno* (n. 3), non si trova in altri codici. Sono madrigali i nn. 1 e 9, il primo dei quali, *La douce cere*, insieme ad un altro madrigale non contenuto da **Mn**, *La fiera testa*, pare che si riferisca ai Visconti e potrebbe quindi risalire al 1388-89, al breve periodo durante il quale i signori di Milano tolsero ai da Carrara il possesso

[16] Cfr. *Musica Disciplina*, III, p. 127. All'elenco ivi dato va aggiunto *Per un verde boschetto* (**Mn** n. 6) che il Prodenziani cita come *Verde buschetto*.

[17] Potrebbe essere il Biagio citato nel testo della ballata anonima *Ore Pandulfum* in onore di Pandolfo Malatesta (**Mod** n. 63). Un Blaxius de Este entrò nella cattedrale di Padova come maestro dei fanciulli cantori il 13 luglio 1421. (R. Casimiri, « Musica e musicisti nella cattedrale di Padova », in *Note d'Archivio*, XVIII [1941], p. 174).

[18] Cfr. la precedente nota 3.

[19] « Liber Saporecti », sonetto 47. Cfr. Debenedetti, *op. cit.*, p. 176. La strana indicazione apposta in **FP** al madrigale *La douce cere* (« di fra Bartolino *da Parugia* » cfr. nota 13), raffrontata alla notorietà di Bartolino in Umbria, di cui testimoniano i sonetti del Prodenziani, può far sospettare un soggiorno del compositore in tale regione o in regioni ad essa vicine.

di Padova. Non è compreso invece tra le composizioni di Bartolino appartenenti a questa fase della redazione del codice, ma lo ritroveremo tra le opere aggiunte in un secondo tempo dallo scrittore A, il madrigale *Imperiale sedendo* (n. 62), che è l'unico che chiaramente alluda ai da Carrara, signori di Padova fino al 1405.

La presenza di due ballate di Francesco Landino (nn. 18 e 19) (o anche di un maggior numero di opere, se, come sembra, i fogli perduti contenevano altre composizioni del Cieco degli Organi) non presenta nessun particolare interesse, perchè le opere del Landino ebbero ampia diffusione e si ritrovano numerose in tutti i codici italiani del tempo. Altrettanto non si può dire invece per l'unica ballata di Niccolò da Perugia (n. 23), che non si trova in nessun altro codice. L'attività del perugino dovette avere per molto tempo come sede Firenze ; alcuni madrigali su testo di Franco Sacchetti e una ballata monodica, certamente fra le sue composizioni più antiche, risalgono probabilmente agli anni 1360-65. Del Sacchetti egli dovette essere amico, poichè è fra i maestri che ne intonarono in maggior numero i testi, comprese due *cacce* ; dalla cronologia di questi testi e dalla persistente impronta stilistica fiorentina della sua arte si può desumere che il soggiorno a Firenze durasse almeno fino al 1375 [20]. Non si concilia invece con la permanenza a Firenze l'avere egli intonato, in forma di madrigale canonico, un testo in onore dei Visconti, già intonato da Bartolino [21]. Il tono popolaresco di una parte delle sue ballate — ne è esempio significativo la ballata in dialogo di **Mn** *Donna poss'io sperare* [22] — fa ritenere probabile che egli si sia riaccostato all'ambiente centro-meridionale, forse ritornando a Perugia. In tal caso il madrigale visconteo potrebbe essere stato composto nel periodo in cui Perugia si sottopose al dominio di Giovan Galeazzo Visconti (1400-1402).

Ritorniamo all'ambiente padovano con Johannes Ciconia. Benchè originario di Liegi [23], tutte le notizie pervenuteci di lui — nei testi dei suoi mottetti e in un trattato del 1411, nel quale si dichiara « canonicus patavinus de civitate leodina » [24] — si ricollegano a Pa-

[20] E. Li Gotti - N. Pirrotta, *Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale* etc., Firenze 1935, p. 72 e sg.

[21] Il madrigale trilingue *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*. L'intonazione a 3 voci di Nicolò da Perugia (in **FL**) è da ritenere posteriore a quella a due voci di Bartolino (**P** e **FL**) ; per la sua solennità grandiosa può essere stato uno dei modelli tenuti presenti dal Ciconia.

[22] Cfr. la trascrizione, in appendice ai testi poetici di **Mn**, in *Musica Disciplina*, IV (1950), p. 150.

[23] Nel 1389 era cantore nella chiesa di S. Giovanni Evangelista a Liegi. (E. Droz, « Musiciens liégeois di XV siècle », in *Revue de Musicologie*, 1929, n. 32, p. 284 e sgg.

[24] Cfr. A de la Fage, *Essais de diphterographie musicale*, Parigi 1862, p. 387.

dova. Il 1411 è l'ultima data accertata ; la più antica è quella fornita dal mottetto *O felix templum jubila* (**BL** n. 216), composto nel 1400 per festeggiare il restauro del Duomo di Padova compiuto da Stefano da Carrara, figlio naturale di Francesco Novello [25]. Nel 1405, quando la signoria Carrarese fu definitivamente abbattuta dai Veneziani, Stefano da Carrara aveva da qualche tempo abbandonata la città, con altri componenti della famiglia, per rifugiarsi a Firenze ; ma un mottetto di Ciconia in onore di Albano Micheli, nominato vescovo di Padova nel marzo del 1406, ci assicura che egli non aveva lasciato la città ; chè anzi rese omaggio, oltre che al nuovo vescovo, ai vincitori Veneziani e al loro doge Michele Steno col mottetto *Venetia mundi splendor — Michael qui Stena domus* (**BL** n. 257). Un altro mottetto celebra l'avvento di Pietro Marcello che, morto il Micheli, fu destinato a succedergli nel vescovato di Padova da papa Alessandro V, il 16 novembre 1409 ; non precisamente databili sono altri cinque mottetti, due dei quali in onore di Francesco Zabarella, giurista, umanista e teologo padovano, che nel 1410 fu da Giovanni XXIII fatto vescovo di Firenze e poco dopo cardinale.

La maggior parte delle undici composizioni attribuite o attribuibili [26] al Ciconia forma un gruppo, contenuto negli attuali fogli 13-15, e comprendente quattro madrigali (nn. 46, 48, 50 e 53), il canone *Le ray au soleil* (n. 51) e quattro ballate (nn. 47, 49, 52 e 54) ; l'ultima delle quali è incompleta. Altre due ballate (nn. 20 e 22) costituiscono un gruppo minore separato dal principale. Poichè soltanto la ballata *Con lagreme* (n. 20) era già conosciuta attraverso il codice **P**, senza peraltro che ne fosse indicato come autore il Ciconia [27],

[25] Essendo vacante la sede episcopale di Padova (probabilmente per volontà di Francesco Novello, mirante a favorire il figlio), Stefano da Carrara, pur non avendo raggiunta l'età canonica per l'elezione al vescovato, fu di fatto a capo della chiesa padovana forse fin dal 1396.

[26] Nella nota 5 ho già indicato i criteri di carattere esterno seguiti per l'attribuzione delle composizioni di **Mn** alle quali non sono direttamente riferibili le indicazioni di autore poste sui margini superiori delle pagine. Ho indicato inoltre, per esemplificare, quali delle composizioni che si trovano in tali condizioni ritengo di potere attribuire al Ciconia, e quali non. A conferma si possono notare ora i seguenti elementi di carattere interno : nella ballata n. 47, *Chi vuole amar*, l'uso di segni di misura inconsueti (| : e | :) che si ritrovano, con qualche variante di significato, nel trattato già menzionato del Ciconia (cfr. A. de la Fage, *op. cit.*, p. 387) ; nella ballata n. 49, *Gli atti col danzar*, la misura *octonaria* e la notazione con *semibreves* caudate verso il basso, entrambe tipiche di questa fase nell'arte di Ciconia ; quanto al n. 51, il canone *Le ray au soleil*, va ricordato che anche in **Mod** si trova una composizione di Ciconia di questo tipo (*Quod iactatur*). Al contrario il *rondeau* n. 21, *Ave vergene*, benchè incompleto mostra le caratteristiche di una composizione di epoca più recente di quella del Ciconia.

[27] Cfr. n. 14. La ballata *Con lagreme* fu inserita in una pagina vuota di un fascicolo del ms **P**, che esso stesso costituisce una inserzione ed ebbe come conseguenza la correzione della numerazione e dell'indice del codice. Il contenuto di questo fascicolo e di un altro che si trova in analoghe condizioni è costituito da opere di Paolo da Firenze, notate dalla stessa mano dello scrittore C di **Mn**.

tutti e undici i pezzi di **Mn** vengono a costituire un allargamento della nostra conoscenza della produzione profana del Ciconia, specialmente di quella di forme e stile italiano, della quale si aveva in precedenza soltanto qualche esempio isolato [28].

Un problema cronologico è connesso al testo della ballata *Con lagreme bagnandome* (n. 20) che in una fonte puramente letteraria, il codice Firenze, Riccardiano 1764, è preceduto dalla rubrica : « Ballata fatta per Messer Francesco Signore di Padova ». Dei due signori di tale nome ai quali la ballata potrebbe riferirsi, fu detto che il suo tono — si tratta di un compianto funebre — si addicesse meglio a Francesco da Carrara il Vecchio — che, morto in prigionia nel 1393, ebbe ciò malgrado solenni onori funebri a Padova — piuttosto che al suo successore, Francesco Novello, ucciso atrocemente in carcere nel 1406 [29].

Che il Ciconia possa essersi trovato a Padova già qualche tempo prima del 1400, non mi pare del tutto improbabile; lo argomenterei anzi dallo stile del mottetto *O Padua sidus praeclarum* (**BL** n. 256, inneggiante alla città, senza accenni nè a vescovi, nè a signori). Esso presenta nell'insieme notevoli affinità con gli altri mottetti del Ciconia a tre voci con un solo testo ; ma la secchezza del suo procedere a scatti, con bruschi arresti di tutte le voci che dànno all'insieme il senso di un discorrere slegato e faticoso, lo fanno ritenere di qualche anno più antico del primo mottetto databile, *O felix templum jubila*, del 1400. Ciò malgrado è tuttavia ugualmente difficile ammettere che il Ciconia fosse a Padova fin dall'anno della morte di Francesco il Vecchio (1393) ; nè mi pare che lo indichi lo stile della ballata *Con lagreme*, per quanto sia difficile il confronto stilistico tra le composizioni nelle forme profane e i mottetti dei quali si hanno precisi riferimenti cronologici. Può darsi invece che il Ciconia, rimasto a Padova dopo la fine della signoria Carrarese, componesse nel 1406 la ballata, nel testo della quale l'accenno alla morte di Francesco Novello è dissimulato, per non incorrere nell'ira dei nuovi padroni, in termini così generici da potersi interpretare come un lamento amoroso.

Una autentica sorpresa è la prova che il Ciconia abbia avuto relazioni con una città italiana diversa da Padova. Ce la dà il madrigale *Una pantera* (n. 50), in onore di Paolo Guinigi, signore di Lucca dal 1400 al 1430. Ogni eventuale dubbio circa tale destinazione viene meno di fronte alla corrispondenza di immagini e di concetti esistente tra il testo del madrigale e quello di una ballata cantata a Lucca

[28] Le ballate *Benchè da vui* e *Io crido, amor* (incompl.) del frammento di origine padovana che si conserva al Calvario di Domodossola (**Dom**) e *Dolce fortuna* (**Pad B** 5, **PC** 50), tutte a 2 voci ; *Lizadra donna* (Parma 5, **PC** 48) e *O rosa bella* (**PC** 49, **RU_2** 5) a 3 voci.

[29] Cfr. Debenedetti, *op. cit.*, p. 76 e sgg.

per festeggiare l'inizio della signoria del Guinigi, riportato nella Cronaca di Ser Giovanni Sercambi [30]. Il Sercambi, uno dei principali consiglieri e fautori del Guinigi, fu probabilmente autore del testo della ballata, e potrebbe dunque esserlo stato anche di quello del madrigale. In tal caso la sua familiarità con la musica — attestata dalla citazione di varie rime musicali tra quelle che egli amò inserire a mo' di commenti nella sua cronaca [31] — sarebbe confermata dalla gustosa immagine musicale con cui nella ballata è espressa la promessa del signore di rendere giustizia ai meriti dei cittadini che si comportassero lealmente verso di lui :

... E li altri ciptadin, non dubitate
Che dal dicto signor fi honorato :
Secondo che 'l suo stato
Biscanterà, così farà il *tinore* [32].

Quanto al Guinigi, la figura del quale prelude a quella del signore rinascimentale amante delle lettere e delle arti, sappiamo che i solerti notai che inventariarono i suoi beni, confiscati dal comune lucchese, nel 1431, rinvennero nel suo studio nel Palazzo Nuovo « un paio di organetti », gli strumenti più spesso usati nell'esecuzione di musiche polifoniche profane [33] ; non è stato invece possibile trovare menzione, nei registri e nei copiosi carteggi esistenti nell'Archivio di Stato di Lucca non che del Ciconia di nessun altro musicista al suo servizio [34]. Nè da questa parte, nè dal testo del madrigale, *Una pantera*, ricaviamo elementi atti a stabilire a quale momento dell'attività del Ciconia corrispondano le composizioni di **Mn**.

La maggior parte di queste composizioni, tranne il canone n. 51, rappresenta una fase di adesione del Ciconia ad una corrente che ad un determinato momento, reagendo ad una precedente tendenza

[30] *Le Croniche di Ser Giovanni Sercambi* a cura di S. Bongi, Lucca 1892, III, p. 28 e sg. : « Stando Paulo Guinigi signore et magiore di Lucha, facendo suoi sugielli con cimieri della pantera, in significatione di Luccha, ... si noteranno alcuni sonetti overo chansoni imposte per memoria di tal signore... ». Seguono due ballate, delle quali interessa sopratutto la prima, *Colla lingua, con l'animo e col core.*

[31] Tra l'altro, è stata notata la predilezione del Sercambi per le rime di Nicolò Soldanieri, del quale i polifonisti trecenteschi musicarono spesso ballate, madrigali e cacce.

[32] *Le Croniche* etc., III, p. 29.

[33] S. Bongi, *Di Paolo Guinigi e delle sue ricchezze*, Lucca 1871, riporta per intero l'inventario che fu presentato al Comune il 29 agosto 1431. Ivi, a pag. 83 : « Item, in quadam alia capsa n° X signata ibidem (cioè " in studio P. G. existente post primam et secundam cameras Palatii novi ") ... Un paio d'organetti, in dicto studio ».

[34] Fanno eccezione i suonatori di trombe, pifferi e timpani (naccarini) che sono frequentemente citati (vedi anche L. Nerici, *Storia della musica in Lucca*, Lucca 1880, p. 183 e sg.). Erano una delle prerogative e delle insegne del potere, che il Guinigi ereditò dal Comune.

di imitazione di forme e modi stilistici di origine francese, si propose la restaurazione delle caratteristiche della tradizione polifonica italiana. La ripresa della forma del madrigale, cui abbiamo già accennato, è soltanto uno degli aspetti di questa tendenza ; contemporaneamente furono fatte rivivere, in interpretazioni più o meno fedeli, combinazioni sonore e modi melodici tradizionali, e alcune delle misure e delle forme grafiche più tipiche dell'antica notazione italiana. Sono partecipi in varia misura di questa restaurazione parecchi dei musicisti del codice **Mn**, da Antonello ad Antonio Zacara, fino ad Andrea Stefani ; essa trasse forse spunto dall'arte di Paolo da Firenze ; ma in nessuno di essi si presenta con caratteri così decisi e netti come in alcune opere del Ciconia, nelle quali, oltre l'acuta osservazione e imitazione delle caratteristiche formali, si avverte un realistico interesse, al di là di ogni velleità di riforma, per il fatto musicale in sè stesso, e per l'esperienza di un mondo di idee e di rapporti musicali che al musicista nordico doveva apparire nuovo, seducente e ricco di ammaestramenti.

Strana personalità quella del Ciconia, talvolta scintillante di spontaneità estrosa, talvolta faticosamente costruita ; oscillante tra gli imperativi di una formazione profondamente nordica e i suggerimenti allettanti di un ambiente meridionale ! Acute considerazioni sul suo svolgimento sono state esposte recentemente dal Besseler, a cui peraltro premeva porre in evidenza in modo particolare uno solo degli elementi del suo stile, quello che si concreta in ciò che il Besseler chiama *Harmonietraeger*, il fondamento costituito dal *tenor* strumentale nei mottetti a tre voci, dal duo strumentale *tenor-contratenor* in quelli a quattro voci [35]. È questo fondamento l'elemento che dà forma e senso alla maggior parte dei mottetti e ne regola il decorso nell'equilibrato avvicendarsi delle armonie fondamentali della tonalità. A differenza dal *tenor* della caccia italiana, al quale il Besseler lo paragona [36], esso preesiste — come era nella tradizione contrappuntistica francese — al duetto vocale che sostiene, e quindi in certo modo lo determina e regola (da esempi italiani il Ciconia apprese forse a svincolarsi dall'obbligo del tenor liturgico, rinunziando ai nessi ideali che la sua scelta comportava, e a costruire liberamente il fondamento del mottetto, magari adattandolo ad un quadro d'insieme della composizione visto *in nuce* ancor prima della realizzazione) [37]. Esaminati in questo aspetto costruttivo i mottetti databili del Ciconia vengono a distendersi con tale progressività — comin-

[35] H. Besseler, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon*, Leipzig 1950, pp. 78 e sgg.
[36] *Ibidem*, pp. 78-79.
[37] Cfr., oltre i *tenores* delle cacce, quello del mottetto *Lux purpurata*, in onore di Luchino Visconti, di Jacopo da Bologna.

ciando da quelli a tre voci (tra i quali hanno cronologicamente la precedenza i due con un solo testo per il duetto vocale acuto), per venire poi a quelli a quattro voci, costruiti sul duo *tenor-contratenor*, nei quali si aggiunge un nuovo elemento derivante dalla tradizione francese, l'isoritmia — da consentire di dedurne una datazione approssimativa anche per quegli altri i cui testi non offrono precisi riferimenti cronologici [38]. Dove invece lo svolgimento della personalità di Ciconia appare più problematico è nella messa in atto del tessuto contrappuntistico del duo vocale acuto, adempimento e realizzazione dello schema tracciato in precedenza con l'ideazione del fondamento. Qui ci troviamo di fronte un lavoro minuto, ostinato, di artigiano, nel quale a sprazzi di freschezza inventiva si alternano desolanti allineamenti di formule melodiche e di progressioni stereotipate, alcune delle quali sono ripetute pressocchè invariate da un mottetto all'altro. Certamente ciò è in parte conseguenza del bisogno di chiare affermazioni tonali, insito già nella formulazione dello *Harmonietraeger*, che conduce al ripetersi frequente di formule cadenzali ; ciò non toglie che ne derivi un fare angoloso nella ritmica minutamente incalzante delle voci superiori, e una successione di arresti e di faticose riprese che il Ciconia, artista avveduto e consapevole, cercò di volta in volta, con varia fortuna, di mascherare o di attenuare.

Compito di un ulteriore studio dei mottetti del Ciconia — finora in minima parte pubblicati — dovrà essere quello di riconoscere le varie soluzioni date al problema della formazione del duetto vocale acuto, di individuare i fattori ambientali e sonori che poterono concorrervi e delineare l'affinarsi in esse della personalità dell'artista. Una soluzione italianizzante è certamente quella del mottetto a tre voci *O felix templum jubila* (1400) ; ha importanza relativa sapere se il modello tenuto presente fosse la caccia — come potrebbe far pensare l'ampia ed ariosa imitazione (o ripetizione) iniziale — o altri tipi di composizioni pure italiane, dai quali mi parrebbe derivato l'ulteriore ritorno all'effetto di imitazioni più ravvicinate [39]. Ma que-

[38] Propongo soltanto un lieve ritocco allo specchietto offerto in Besseler, *op. cit.*, p. 81 : disporrei come segue i primi tre mottetti a tre voci :

BL 256	*O Padua, sidus praeclarum*	prima del 1400
BL 216	*O felix templum jubila*	1400
BL 257	*Venetia, mundi splendor* / *Michael qui Stena domus*	1405

[39] *O felix templum jubila* è pubblicato in Ch. Van den Borren, *Polyphonia sacra*, Burnham 1932, p. 243 sgg. Anche se analogo è l'effetto estetico, l'imitazione iniziale differisce da quella delle cacce in quanto l'antecedente si arresta all'inizio del conseguente. Possibili modelli del mottetto di Ciconia sono anche i madrigali a 3 voci di Jacopo da Bologna con due voci acute uguali sostenute dal *tenor* (cfr. l'inizio di *Aquila altera* in N. Pirrotta, « Per l'origine e la storia della caccia etc. », in *Rivista Musicale Ital.*, IL [1947], p. 135). Ma occorre pure tener conto di mottetti italiani di epoca intermedia tra quello già citato di Jacopo da Bologna (nota 37)

sta soluzione che pure aveva conferito un equilibrio e una compostezza al mottetto dell'anno 1400 viene lasciata cadere nei mottetti successivi, per ripresentarsi soltanto, molto più tardi, nel mottetto i onore di S. Nicola ; la sostituisce invece una esperienza formale di tutt'altra origine e significato, l'isoritmia, che Ciconia associa sempre ad un'altra caratteristica senza precedenti nella tradizione italiana, l'impianto polifonico a 4 voci. Il primo mottetto isoritmico databile è quello in onore di Albano Micheli, del 1406. Possiamo considerare come pura coincidenza il fatto che proprio nel primo decennio del secolo Prosdocimo de Beldemandis nella stessa città di Padova elaborasse i suoi trattati teorici di impronta marcatamente francese e che perfino l'anziano fra Bartolino si desse, in un momento non precisato, ma certo sul finire della sua carriera, alla composizione dei « rondel franceschi » già menzionati ? Era più che naturale che il nordico Ciconia aderisse alla corrente di tecnicismo « oltremontano » che influenzò durante il primo decennio del secolo XV la polifonia dell'Italia settentrionale. La moda oltremontana, derivata principalmente dalla raffinata pratica solistica della corte avignonese, dovette soltanto sfiorare il Ciconia, incline ad un'arte vigorosa che s'avvia verso la coralità [40] ; tuttavia conosciamo di lui un *virelai* che è un omaggio evidente al più famoso dei maestri italiani che già nella generazione precedente avevano soggiaciuto all'influenza francese, Filippotto da Caserta [41] ; e anche i due canoni **Mod** n. 36 e **Mn** n. 51 — specialmente quest'ultimo, con le raffinatezze *fin-de-siècle* della sua notazione e della sua ritmica — rientrano in quelle manifestazioni di virtuosismo accademico che nei musicisti italiani condussero all'accoglimento delle caratteristiche formali e grafiche dell'arte straniera.

Nel preambolo del *Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modum Ytalicorum* Prosdocimo de Beldemandis dà indicazioni preziose sia nei riguardi della rapidità con cui la moda oltremontana — poi-

e quelli del principio del sec. XV : se ne hanno alcuni esempi, purtroppo in uno stato estremamente lacunoso, in un frammento pergamenaceo di proprietà del prof. Francesco Egidi a Roma (cfr. Fr. Egidi, *Un frammento di codice musicale del secolo XIV*, Roma 1925).

[40] H. Besseler, *Johannes Ciconia, Begründer der Chorpolyphonie*, Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra, Roma 1950 (in corso di pubbl.).

[41] *Sus un fontayne* (**Mod** n. 48) racchiude gli *incipit* poetici e musicali di tre *ballades* di Filippotto : *En remirant* (**Mod** n. 67), *En atendant* (**Mod** n. 34), *De ma dolour* (**Mod** n. 47) ; cfr. N. Pirrotta, « Il codice Estense lat. 568 » estratto da *Atti della R. Acc. di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, serie IV, vol. V, parte II, Palermo 1946, p. 39 dell'estratto. Sia il *virelai* del Ciconia che le tre ballate di Filippotto sono pubblicate in *French secular Music of the late Fourteenth Century*, ed. Willi Apel, Cambridge Mass. 1950, rispettivamente ai nn. 66, 59, 56 e 60. L'inclusione dell'*incipit* di *En atendant* nel *virelai* di Ciconia è una conferma dell'attribuzione di questo pezzo a Filippotto indicata nel ms. **Mod** ; lo Apel invece (*loc. cit.* e p. 31) lo attribuisce, seguendo **Ch**, a Galiot (cfr. in proposito anche « Il codice Estense lat. 568 », già cit., p. 33).

chè di vera e propria moda si trattò — si era diffusa in Italia, sia sul motivo fondamentale da cui essa era dettata, l'emulazione sulla via della complessità tecnica e della sottigliezza speculativa [42]. Ma per sè stesso, a sua volta, il trattato di Prosdocimo è documento della rapidità non minore con la quale quella moda era stata seguita da una reazione. La restaurazione della notazione italiana che vi è propugnata non può essere considerata come l'isolato ghiribizzo nostalgico di un teorico in vena di riesumazioni ; nè si può credere che, riferendosi alla notazione, Prosdocimo non volesse implicare anche la sostanza più intima della musica [43], sopratutto da quando, con la scoperta dei frammenti di **Mn**, è venuto in luce un nucleo considerevole di opere evidentemente ispirate al desiderio di ripristinare, non soltanto nella notazione, le più tipiche tradizioni della polifonia italiana.

Nella produzione su testi italiani del Ciconia l'applicazione più rigorosa dei principi di notazione italiani si manifesta sopratutto in gruppo di opere del quale fanno parte i quattro madrigali (**Mn** nn. 46, 48, 50 e 53) e le ballate *La fiamma del to amor*, *Poichè morir* (**Mn** nn. 22 e 54) e *Dolce fortuna* [44]. Caratteristica è la ripresa della forma del madrigale, che nell'ultimo quarto del secolo XIV aveva ceduto il passo di fronte al predominio della ballata, più duttile e più adatta alle esigenze della vita sociale, fino a scomparire. Ma ancor più che notazione e forma, sono sopratutto gli elementi dello stile italiano che il Ciconia individua e ricrea con una attenzione quasi amorosa

[42] « ... dato quod *a modico tempore citra*, ipsa arte Gallica etiam utantur Ytalici, et *forsan non peius Gallicis*, in tantum quod propriam negligunt artem, et Gallicam exaltant, putantes *propriam esse defectuosam et Gallicam pulcriorem, perfectiorem et subtiliorem existere...* » da C. Sartori, *La notazione italiana del Trecento in una redazione inedita del « Tractatus... »*, Firenze 1938, p. 36.

[43] Anche la più clamorosa rivoluzione stilistica nel campo della polifonia trecentesca, quella di Philippe de Vitry, ebbe la sua espressione teorica in un sistema di notazione.

[44] Le caratteristiche più salienti della notazione italiana, in contrasto con l'uso francese, sono : l'impiego del *punctus divisionis* e di alcune misure caratteristiche come la *octonaria* e la *duodenaria* ; la distinzione del duplice grado della *semibrevis* (cioè, nella *octonaria* e *duodenaria*, la distinzione tra *semibreves* aventi valore di 4 minime e *semibreves* aventi valore di 2 minime), a volte implicita (*via naturae*), a volte espressa (*via artis*) con la figura *cum cauda descendenti* che indica il valore maggiore. Una differenza tra l'antica notazione italiana e quella « ripristinata » di Bartolino, di Antonello, e talvolta anche di Paolo da Firenze e del Ciconia, è nella tendenza di quest'ultima ad avere una figura diversa per ogni diverso valore, laddove l'antica notazione faceva spesso assegnamento per le diverse interpretazioni di una stessa figura sull'effetto visivo risultante dal raggruppamento dei segni. Si trova così, nei musicisti quattrocenteschi, un abuso della figura della *semibrevis cum cauda descendenti a latere* con valore di 3 minime, laddove i musicisti del secolo precedente si sarebbero serviti delle usuali forme. Anche Prosdocimo si serve di questa figura per fondarvi la possibilità di esprimere la sincopazione con i mezzi di notazione italiani (ma non in conformità dello spirito della autentica notazione italiana).

e con intuito felice [45]. Poichè il Ciconia componeva a Padova, nella stessa città e negli stessi anni in cui si svolse l'attività di teorico di Prosdocimo, sorge il quesito se il teorico abbia influenzato l'artista o viceversa. Se si confronta l'acutezza di osservazione e la fedeltà e comprensione delle interpretazioni che Ciconia ci dà dello stile tradizionale italiano, con l'incongruenza del de Beldemandis che, nell'intento assurdo di dimostrare una inutile superiorità della notazione italiana, si lascia portare ad una costruzione teorica aderente soltanto in qualche dato esteriore alla vera essenza della pratica italiana di notazione [46], non si può non dare la preferenza alla più forte personalità del musicista straniero. Lo stesso Prosdocimo sembra del resto darne conferma [47]. Avremmo dunque un importante riferimento cronologico per determinare in quale momento della carriera del Ciconia si inseriscono le sue composizioni più marcatamente italianizzanti: poichè il trattato di Prosdocimo è del 1412 è probabile che il volgersi del Ciconia all'imitazione delle forme e dello stile delle composizioni profane italiane cada nel breve periodo di tempo che intercorre tra la composizione dell'ultimo mottetto isoritmico databile, che è quello in onore di Pietro Marcello del 1409-10, e il 1412.

Qualunque sia stata l'occasione e il modo di manifestarsi, l'attrazione del Ciconia verso i modelli della tradizione italiana era ben più remota di quest'epoca e aveva certamente un motivo più profondo: il desiderio di penetrare il segreto del loro articolarsi con naturalezza di concatenamenti e con giustezza di proporzioni pur nella limitazione dei mezzi impiegati, il semplice duetto di *cantus* e *tenor* vocali. Non può essere pura combinazione che con l'uso di forme italiane di notazione Ciconia faccia coincidere quasi sempre l'impianto a due voci, fornite entrambe di testo: unica eccezione, sulla quale dovremo presto ritornare, è il madrigale *Una pantera* che è a tre voci. L'imitazione delle forme italiane fu per il Ciconia una fase transitoria, ma si trattò di una esperienza che non ebbe

[45] Può risultare utile la consultazione delle trascrizioni date da F. Ghisi in « Italian Ars-Nova Music », supplemento a *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, I (1946).

[46] Cfr. Sartori, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65 e 155. Il trattato di Prosdocimo si sforza di conciliare le regole e l'uso francesi con l'impiego del *punctus divisionis*, giungendo ad una casistica minuta che è un compromesso tra le due forme di notazione e non solo non corrisponde alla effettiva prassi antica italiana, ma ne altera profondamente il carattere sintetico e « visivo ».

[47] Il passo iniziale del « *Tractatus... ad modum Ytalicorum* » indica che la notazione italiana era in uso mentre P. scriveva: « Ars practice cantus mensurabilis duplex reperitur. Ars scilicet Ytalica *qua soli Ytalici ad presens utuntur*: et ars Gallica quam omnes latine littere Ytalicis exceptis ad presens amplectuntur... » in Sartori, *op. cit.*, p. 36. La frase in corsivo è tanto più significativa in quanto rappresenta una meditata correzione rispetto a quella della prima versione, di qualche mese più antica: « ... qua soli Ytalici usi sunt... » (Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, III, p. 228).

fine in sè stessa e venne ad inserirsi nel quadro di una personalità complessa e ricca di facoltà di assimilazione. Nei due mottetti a due voci che certamente appartengono agli stessi anni — l'uno di essi, *O Petre, Christi discipule* (**BL** 257), fu certamente composto non prima del 1410 per il vescovo Marcello — la pura bivocalità del madrigale è trasportata in un nuovo tipo di mottetto, senza precedenti nè francesi nè italiani nel quale l'abbandono del fondamento strumentale — *tenor* o duo — indica la rinunzia ad un disegno tonale precostituito e la ricerca di un principio sintattico e formativo nei rapporti melodici e ritmici delle due voci. Vi possiamo scorgere, stante anche la coincidenza di date, una prima elaborazione in senso tutto personale della lezione tratta dalla esperienza delle forme italiane [48]?

In senso inverso un'altra prova della facoltà di Ciconia di riassumere e conciliare ai fini delle proprie esigenze di espressione elementi tecnici, stilistici e formali di provenienza diversa è data dal madrigale in onore del Guinigi. Unico tra i madrigali a non attenersi al semplice impianto con *Cantus* e *Tenor* vocali, aggiungendovi un *Contratenor* anch'esso dotato di testo [49], esso si accosta allo stile dei mottetti nella solennità festosa della sua polifonia e ne ritrae molte delle caratteristiche melodiche e ritmiche, e perfino l'ambiguità di certi melismi che, pur essendo, secondo le apparenze, destinati alle voci, acquistano non di rado uno spiccato sapore strumentale. Tra i mottetti stessi tuttavia le maggiori affinità non sono, come ci si aspetterebbe, con quelli a tre voci, nei quali una voce grave, il *tenor*, sostiene un duetto acuto di parti vocali di uguale registro; qui, nel madrigale, il *contratenor* è come uno sdoppiamento del *tenor*, ed entrambi, con l'alternarsi e integrarsi nelle funzioni di fondamento armonico e tonale, realizzano le caratteristiche dell'*Harmonietraeger-duo* dei mottetti a quattro voci [50]. L'impronta italiana è evidente d'altra parte anzitutto nella piena vocalità di tutto l'edificio polifonico e nel disegno formale tipico del madrigale: deriva pure dal madrigale — e più propriamente dal madrigale a due voci, dacchè il *contratenor* non è mai autonomo, ma sempre segue il comportamento del *tenor* — l'ariosa scioltezza e il vario alternarsi di recitazione sillabica simultanea, di melismi e di plastiche imitazioni. La

[48] Cfr. W. Korte, *Studien zur Geschichte der Musik in Italien im ersten Viertel des 15. Jahrh.*, Kassel 1933, p. 40.

[49] La trascrizione di F. Ghisi nel già citato supplemento al *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* è in qualche punto da ritoccare.

[50] Va notato che anche in alcuni dei mottetti il *tenor* strumentale diviene a tratti vocale. Nel probabile impiego di trombe gravi a tiro per l'esecuzione delle voci di sostegno dei mottetti di Ciconia (cfr. Besselor, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon*, pp. 85-86) può avere influito la considerazione di una certa equivalenza, come « peso » sonoro e incisività, tra tali trombe e le voci gravi virili. Cfr. la nota seguente.

maturità di tale fusione di principi formali e tecnici diversi è paragonabile soltanto a quella dell'unico mottetto a quattro voci non isoritmico *O virum – O lux et decus Tranensium – O beate Nicholae*, in onore di S. Nicola (**BL** n. 254) che anche il Besseler considera, pur senza precisare una data, come il più recente fra tutti i mottetti di Ciconia [51]. Ma anche altre opere pur con varietà di caratteri, presentano un sincretismo disinvolto di tendenze stilistiche e di caratteri formali (e di notazione) italiani e stranieri, spregiudicatamente asserviti ad un risultato espressivo spesso singolare e notevole : così la ballata *Lisadra donna* in cui la fluidità (anticipatrice dello stile di Dufay) del ritmo 6/8 si associa ad una plasticità di recitazione e all'impianto *Cantus* e *Tenor* vocali con *contratenor* strumentale, che sono caratteristiche italiane [52] ; così la famosa *O rosa bella*, su testo generalmente assegnato al veneziano Leonardo Giustinian (nato nel 1387) [53], e le ballate di **Mn** *Chi nel servire* (n. 52) e *Gli atti col danzar* (n. 49), quest'ultima notata nello stile italiano malgrado l'impianto polifonico con le due voci inferiori strumentali e caratterizzata da un sensibile interesse — già manifestantesi in qualche passo del madrigale *Una pantera* — per una scrittura accordale tendente allo stile di *faux-bourdon* [54].

Il numero e la qualità di queste opere fa ritenere poco probabile che esse possano tutte addensarsi nel brevissimo periodo tra il 1409 e il 1411, ultima data conosciuta del Ciconia. Ma questa è dopotutto non la data sicura della cessazione dell'attività di Ciconia, ma un *terminus a quo* che non impedisce di supporre una fase ulteriore della carriera del compositore durante almeno una parte degli anni che la dividono dall'inizio dell'attività italiana del Dufay. Vi sono del resto altre ragioni che concorrono a far supporre che l'attività del Ciconia non cessasse col 1411. Fino a quell'anno egli risiede a Padova ; ma è difficile spiegarsi come da quella città egli abbia potuto comporre per due località distanti da Padova ed esse stesse lontane l'una dall'altra : Lucca, a cui è fuor di dubbio che fosse destinato il madrigale in lode del Guinigi, e Trani, per il cui patrono è composto il mottetto

[51] Cfr. lo specchietto *ibidem*, p. 81. Il brano finale del mottetto è pubblicato in H. Besseler, *Die Musik der Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Potsdam 1931-34, p. 204. Il *duo* di sostegno è realizzato da *tenor* vocale e *contratenor* strumentale, evidentemente considerati come fonicamente equivalenti (cfr. nota precedente).

[52] Parma, Archivio di Stato. Nella trascrizione di Ghisi, *op. cit.*, p. 23 non è indicato che il *Contratenor* è di Matteo da Perugia.

[53] Trascrizione in *DTO*, VII, 227. L'attribuzione del testo al Giustinian, generalmente accettata, è importante per la datazione della composizione di Ciconia.

[54] Trascrizione delle due ballate in Ghisi, *op. cit.* Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 8 gli accordi iniziali del ritornello del madrigale *Una pantera*. Lo « stile di *fauxbourdon* » della ballata n. 49 (cfr. Besseler, *Bourdon* etc., p. 6) richiederebbe il confronto di questa composizione con le composizioni liturgiche di Ciconia.

O virum [55] ; nè è più facile spiegare in che modo le opere italiane del Ciconia, che per fondati motivi riteniamo composte per la maggior parte dopo il 1409, potessero in breve tempo essere note nelle zone più lontane dell'Umbria (come è provato dalle citazioni del Prodenziani che scriveva già prima del 1417) e della Toscana (come mostra l'accoglimento nel repertorio di **Mn**), separate da Padova ancor più che dalla distanza geografica dagli ostacoli di una complessa e difficile situazione politica e religiosa. Mi pare che non si possa fare a meno di supporre che il Ciconia lasciasse Padova dopo il 1411, per trasferirsi ad una sede che non conosciamo e che è forse destinata a restare per sempre ignorata, ma che dovette essere sensibilmente più vicina alle regioni centrali e meridionali dell'Italia. Come pura congettura, si potrebbe pensare a Teramo, al cui vescovato fu destinato nel 1412 da papa Giovanni XXIII il primo probabile protettore del Ciconia, Stefano da Carrara. La nomina e l'insediamento dell'esule Carrarese a Teramo furono resi possibili dal fatto che un altro membro della famiglia, Conte da Carrara [56], governava allora l'Abruzzo in nome di Ladislao, re di Napoli ; l'intensa partecipazione di Conte, che fu uno dei condottieri più valorosi dell'animoso Ladislao, agli avvenimenti del regno di Napoli potrebbe spiegare da una parte i rapporti con Trani, dall'altra quelli col Guinigi la cui politica cercò sempre di contrapporre alla minacciosa potenza della vicina Firenze una durevole alleanza con Ladislao [57].

Con molto maggior candore e ingenuità che nel Ciconia anche nell'opera di Antonello da Caserta si riflette il succedersi, come un flusso e riflusso, della moda « oltremontana » e della restaurazione tradizionale. Alla prima corrispondono le otto composizioni di questo autore contenute nel codice Estense lat. 568 (**Mod**) — 5 *ballades*, 2 *rondeaux*, 1 *virelai* — tutte a tre voci (con *tenor* e *contratenor* strumentali) su testo francese, nelle quali sono sperimentate tutte le sottigliezze dell'arte avignonese dell'ultimo quarto del secolo XIV, dalle lunghe successioni di sincopi (non si sa se dettate più dalla ricerca di una intensità espressiva o dal desiderio di ostentare la gamma svariata degli espedienti di notazione che esse comportano), alla sovrapposizione di misure diverse in ciascuna delle tre voci, all'applicazione di

[55] S. Nicola è venerato in molti luoghi in Italia, ma principalmente a Bari, dove se ne conservano le reliquie. Il testo della seconda voce indica però esplicitamente Trani, di cui S. Nicola è considerato come patrono.

[56] Figlio naturale di Francesco il Vecchio e quindi fratello di Francesco Novello e zio di Stefano. Nel 1384 fu arciprete padovano, ma nel 1389, al momento dell'occupazione viscontea della città, abbandonò la carriera ecclesiastica e si diede al mestiere delle armi. Dal 1408 fu uno dei capitani di Ladislao di Napoli, che nel 1413 gli conferì in ricompensa la contea di Ascoli.

[57] A. Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, Firenze 1950, p. 188 e sgg.

canoni proporzionali [58]. La seconda — con una contrapposizione che non potrebbe essere più netta nè meglio definire le opposte caratteristiche dei due repertori — è rappresentata dalle composizioni, pure otto di numero, contenute nei frammenti di **Mn** : 1 madrigale e 7 ballate che anche esteriormente rivelano tutte le principali caratteristiche già indicate nel descrivere la fase italianizzante del Ciconia, la ripresa della forma del madrigale (sia pure con un solo esemplare), il ritorno alla notazione italiana, l'impianto polifonico a due voci. L'eccezione a quest'ultimo carattere costituita dalla ballata a tre voci *Più chiar che 'l sol* (**Mn** n. 37) è più che altro apparente perchè anche in questo caso la composizione è fondamentalmente basata su *cantus* e *tenor* vocali, con l'aggiunta, come in molte ballate landiniane o degli ultimi fiorentini, di una voce intermedia strumentale [59]. Soltanto due delle otto composizioni italiane, che formano nei frammenti di **Mn** un unico gruppo, si ritrovano in altri codici ; anche per Antonello dunque il contributo di **Mn** porta un sensibile ampliamento della produzione profana italiana.

Le opere di Antonello conosciute prima del ritrovamento di **Mn** appartengono esclusivamente a manoscritti provenienti dall'Italia settentrionale, e cioè, oltre ai fascicoli centrali di **Mod** che sono probabilmente di origine bolognese, il frammento Parma, di origine lombarda, la sezione centrale di **PR** e i due frammenti padovani **Pad B** e **Dom** [60]. Ciò indica che, malgrado l'origine meridionale, egli deve aver vissuto per un tempo abbastanza lungo nell'Italia settentrionale. Il fatto che egli è il compositore rappresentato col maggior numero di opere nella parte più antica del codice **Mod** — che emana dal gruppo di cantori di Alessandro V, il pontefice eletto a Pisa nel 1409, o di Giovanni XXIII che gli succedette dopo meno di un anno — mostra che, se pure non vi sia la prova che anch'egli ne facesse parte, dovette certamente essere in relazione con quel gruppo [61]. Più difficile è dire quali siano stati i rapporti con l'ambiente padovano e col Ciconia [62], che tuttavia dovettero essere abbastanza diretti. Vi è una stretta rispondenza nel modo in cui i due maestri attuano la rivalutazione della tradizione polifonica italiana, per lo meno nelle manifestazioni più esteriori di forma e di notazione. Ma

[58] Trascrizioni in Apel, *op. cit.*, pp. 31* e sgg.

[59] Anche questa ballata nel frammento Parma è data con *contratenor* di Matteo da Perugia. Non mi è stato possibile accertare se quello di **Mn** sia uguale o diverso.

[60] H. Besseler, « Studien zur Musik des M. A. : I. Neue Quellen etc. », in *AfMw*, VII, 1925, pp. 167 e sgg.

[61] Pirrotta, *Il codice Estense lat. 568*, già cit., p. 35 dell'estratto. Che fosse un religioso risulta dal frammento Parma che lo indica come *A. Marotus abbas.* Il cognome Marotus o Marot è forse di origine ungherese.

[62] Anche il Ciconia dovette essere in rapporto col gruppo da cui proviene **Mod** (*ibidem*, p. 38 e sg.).

diversissime sono le due personalità nella sostanza intima : il robusto senso costruttivo del Ciconia non ha riscontro in Antonello, che in alcune opere si accosta a Bartolino per la predilezione di ritmi frastagliati e nervosi, in altre si distende in più piana melodicità, sempre puntando verso una espressività melodica un po' velata di meridionali languori [63].

Un'altra analogia col Ciconia è nella probabilità che anche Antonello, dopo avere svolto per un certo periodo la sua attività nell'Italia settentrionale, ne spostasse la sede verso le regioni centromeridionali. Una indicazione in tal senso ci è data dal testo dell'unico madrigale, *Del glorioso titolo d'esto duce* (**Mn** n. 34) : vi ricorrono i titoli di « re », « novo Augusto », « monarca » che non possono riferirsi, nell'ambito della penisola italiana, se non al regno di Napoli, tenuto allora dalla dinastia Angioina ; nè la « donna che possedette ciò che il sol riguarda » (Gerusalemme? il ducato d'Austria?) e « aver un sposo è sta' si lenta e tarda » può essere altra che Giovanna II di Napoli, divenuta regina nel 1414 alla morte del fratello Ladislao. Del tempestoso regno dell'ultima sovrana angioina due sono gli avvenimenti ai quali potrebbe riferirsi il testo oscuro e contorto del madrigale, indirizzato a un « duce » che diviene re « per salute di quella donna » : o il matrimonio, celebrato nel 1415, col conte Giacomo de la Marche, ovvero l'adozione di Luigi III d'Angiò da parte di Giovanna avvenuta otto anni più tardi, nel 1423 [64]. Per ragioni di stile musicale propenderei per la data più antica.

Del gruppo di cantori appartenenti alla corte papale di Giovanni XXIII Zaccaria, indicato quasi sempre nei codici come « Magister Zacharias », fu uno dei più probabili componenti [65], sicchè non appare necessario, a giustificare la qualifica di « Chantor Domini Nostri Papae » che gli è attribuita nel codice Squarcialupi (**FL**), ammetterne l'identificazione proposta da Haberl con Nicolaus Zacarie della diocesi di Brindisi, assunto tra i cantori di papa Nicolò V nel 1420 [66]. Il cantore papale Nicolò potrebbe essere stato un figlio di Zaccaria, la cui origine meridionale è comunque attestata dalle tracce dialettali che si avvertono in qualcuno dei testi da lui posti in musica,

[63] Delle composizioni di Antonello su testi italiani non è pubblicata nessuna trascrizione.

[64] Giacomo de la Marche fu istigato da una parte della nobiltà napoletana ad assumere il titolo di re contro la volontà di Giovanna.

[65] Pirrotta, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43 dell'estratto.

[66] F. X. Haberl, *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, I, pp. 57. È da notare che in *BL*, dove le opere di Zacharias e quelle di Antonio Zacara sono confuse sotto l'unica denominazione *Zacar* (o semplicemente *Z.*), un *Credo* tropato (n. 134) porta il nome *N. Zacarie*. Il mottetto *Argi vices – Com Pilemon* in onore di papa Giovanni XXIII del codice di Aosta sarebbe opera di Nicolaus Zacarie e non di Zacharias ; ma il fatto che entrambi svolgessero la loro attività intorno allo stesso pontefice avvalora l'idea di una parentela.

specialmente in quello della caccia *Cacciando per gustar* [67]. Delle due fasi indicate attraverso l'esame dell'opera di Ciconia e di Antonello — imitazione « oltremontana » e ritorno alle caratteristiche italiane — egli approda appena alla prima con le cinque composizioni che lo pongono in primo piano tra i compositori della sezione più antica del codice **Mod** ; ma a ben guardare la sua adesione all'indirizzo fondamentale di questo codice, un accademismo di derivazione avignonese, è limitata ad una sola composizione, la *ballade* su testo latino *Sumite karissimi* (**Mod** n. 15) ; gli altri pezzi, un Gloria e tre ballate italiane, restano aderenti alla tradizione. In questo e nel fatto che i frammenti di **Mn** — il repertorio del quale sempre più chiaramente ci si va mostrando orientato verso musiche composte a partire dal secondo decennio del secolo XV — contengono di lui una sola composizione, la ballata *Sol me trafige 'l cor* (n. 29), vedrei una conferma dell'anzianità di Zaccaria, la cui carriera dovette chiudersi non molto tempo dopo il 1410. Non credo che si possano attribuire alla restaurazione italiana, di cui abbiamo ormai tanto parlato, le composizioni contenute in **FL** che del resto non ne presentano i caratteri formali e stilistici e sembrano piuttosto risentire dell'influenza delle ballate fiorentine della fine del secolo XIV.

Ben distinta da quella di Zaccaria è la personalità di Antonio Zacara da Teramo [68], rappresentato nella sezione principale di **Mn** da ben nove composizioni, un madrigale (n. 28) e otto ballate (nn. 24-27 e 30-33), delle quali una sola, la ballata *Rosetta che non cambi mai colore* (n. 24), già esistente, anonima, nel codice **Pz**. Ancora una volta il contributo di **Mn** riguarda le opere profane italiane di questo compositore ; contrariamente però a ciò che abbiamo detto di Zaccaria, le opere di Antonio Zacara contenute in **Mn** devono provenire dal periodo iniziale della sua carriera di compositore, della quale codici più recenti ci dànno invece saggi appartenenti quasi esclusivamente al campo liturgico [69].

Se mai Antonio Zacara ebbe modo di conoscere direttamente il Ciconia [70], ciò dovette accadere in un'epoca in cui l'arte del musicista liegese si era già lasciata alle spalle la fase dell'esperienza italiana e ne aveva lasciato cadere i lati più esteriori, serbandone quel tanto che conveniva alla propria natura. Delle caratteristiche più visibili della restaurazione italiana, in Zacara rimangono ancora il ritorno, sia pure con una sola opera, al madrigale, e la costanza del-

[67] Cfr. E. Lovarini, recensione al Carducci in *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, 1897, pp. 132-41, e F. Egidi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 e sg.

[68] Pirrotta, *op. cit.*, p. 43 dell'estratto.

[69] Cfr. le intonazioni di parti di Messa in **BL**.

[70] Anche questa eventualità ha concorso nel suggerirmi l'ipotesi del soggiorno di Ciconia a Teramo precedentemente esposta.

l'impianto polifonico con *cantus* e *tenor* vocali, talvolta arricchito in terzetto vocale, o nella disposizione già menzionata come tipicamente italiana con una voce media strumentale. Caduto è invece l'uso programmatico della notazione italiana, in favore di una maniera di scrittura abbastanza semplice, senza *punctus divisionis*, ma con uso discreto di note rosse o vuote. Questa notazione è del resto quella che meglio si adatta al ritmo dominante che è quello espresso dal *tempus imperfectum maioris prolationis* (che nell'usuale sistema di trascrizione viene a configurarsi nel tempo 6/8). In Zacara questo ritmo assume volentieri — anche nel madrigale che non ha più niente dell'aulica serenità dei modelli tradizionali — una fluidità spigliata che se da una parte si può ricollegare alla ritmica del mottetto a due voci *O Petre* e di taluna delle ballate più recenti di Ciconia, annunzia già quella del decennio successivo e delle opere più antiche di Dufay. In Zacara tuttavia questo ritmo mi pare che assuma volentieri un piglio rude ed energico quasi di danza popolaresca, cui concorrono la predilezione per le combinazioni di voci gravi e un certo sapore quasi strumentale di brevi incisi che marcano fortemente il tempo. In questa impressione di rusticità saporosa ha probabilmente la sua parte anche un riflesso della bizzarria dei testi e del loro gusto manifesto per l'oscurità burchiellesca o per l'allusione ridanciana. Abbastanza strano è che alcune di queste ballate siano passate, in un periodo un poco più recente, a servire di base — primi accenni di *missa parodia* — a composizioni liturgiche dello stesso Zacara [71].

A completare il quadro della raccolta principale di **Mn** — o almeno di quella parte di essa che ci è pervenuta — resta da ricordare un gruppo di composizioni su testi francesi. Una di esse, il *virelai* di Jo. Vaillant *Par maintes fois* (n. 44), è una delle opere della tradizione nordfrancese che incontrarono maggior successo, a giudicare dalla sua diffusione in codici delle più diverse provenienze ; un successo, che come in qualche altro caso consimile, è dovuto a caratteristiche di realistica evidenza con saporose imitazioni onomatopeiche [72]. Anche in queste opere non italiane dunque si rivela una ten-

[71] N. Pirrotta, « Considerazioni sui primi esempi di *missa parodia* », in *Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra – Roma 1950* (in corso di pubblicaz.).

[72] Anche lo Apel, nella pubblicazione già citata (*French Secular Music* etc.), parla di una scuola francese dopo Machaut includendovi opere di provenienza nord-francese, opere avignonesi e imitazioni italiane. La tradizione della polifonia francese della seconda metà del sec. XIV è estremamente lacunosa, e in gran parte affidata a mss. italiani ; ma occorre almeno proporsi il problema dell'esistenza in essa di varie tendenze. Lo stesso Apel mette in evidenza (pp. 3-4) l'esistenza di una serie di « realistic virelais » con caratteristiche diversissime da quelle delle composizioni virtuosistiche che io considero appartenenti alla scuola avignonese e che lo Apel definisce « manieristiche » (per quelle italiane che imitano tale manie-

denza opposta alla ricerca di sottigliezze tecniche e formali che ispira i repertori segnati dall'influenza avignonese ; tendenza che non è smentita dalle altre opere anonime, in prevalenza snelli *rondeaux*, certamente molto più recenti del *virelai* di Vaillant. Non è facile stabilire se si tratti di opere originali francesi, o di imitazioni italiane dello stile francese. La predilezione accentuata per la forma del *rondeau* è pure una delle caratteristiche delle composizioni del domenicano Antonio da Cividale, che conta fra le poche composizioni profane pervenuteci (cinque in tutto) una sola ballata su testo italiano [73]. Nei frammenti di **Mn** egli è rappresentato per l'appunto da tre *rondeaux* (nn. 16, 17 e 42), mentre una quarta che gli si può pure attribuire è probabilmente un *virelai* (n. 43, frammento) ; soltanto il n. 17, *Longtemps*, era già noto da un altro codice. Anche Antonio da Cividale appartiene ad una generazione più recente di quella di Ciconia e Antonello, dacchè i principali codici in cui figurano le sue composizioni sono **BL** e **O** (il ben noto codice Oxford, Bodleian, Lib. Canonici misc. 213) [74]. Degno di particolare osservazione è tra le opere di **Mn** il *rondeau* a quattro voci (*cantus* vocale, *triplum*, *tenor* e *contratenor* strumentali) *Vous soyez tres bien venus* (n. 42) nel quale le due voci inferiori formano un *ostinato* con la ripetizione di una brevissima formula cadenzale.

* * *

L'affinità di forme grafiche tra la raccolta principale e le aggiunte che costituiscono la seconda fase della redazione di **Mn**, trova corrispondenza nel contenuto di queste aggiunte, che rappresenta in certo modo una continuazione delle tendenze del repertorio principale. Lo scrittore A, dalla cui mano furono aggiunte nelle cc. da 16*a* a 19*b* sedici composizioni, tralasciò, come si è già detto, di indicare per ciascuna di esse i nomi dei compositori ; soltanto per una, la ballata

rismo io ho già da tempo adottato il termine di « accademismo »). Jo. Vaillant è uno degli autori di composizioni non manieristiche (o manieristiche in diverso modo) ; un altro è Pierre de Moulins. Non c'è dietro a questi autori fortunati (le loro opere sono tra le più diffuse dell'epoca) una cultura polifonica nord-francese da riconoscere attraverso i frammenti di una tradizione dispersa ?

[73] Cfr. H. Besseler, « Antonius de Civitate », in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, fasc. 3 (1950), col. 550-51.

[74] Il mottetto *Sanctus itaque patriarcha Leuncius* (**BL** 274) contiene riferimenti a Brindisi e Trani ; il mottetto *Strenua-Gaudeat* (**O** 275) fu scritto in onore di Giorgio Ordelaffi, signore di Forlì. Va tenuto presente che vescovo di Forlì fu dal 1417 Johannes Strata, familiare di Gregorio XII, e che questo pontefice aveva tenuto a Cividale un concilio nel 1409. La data 8 giugno 1423 che si legge sul mottetto per l'Ordelaffi non può essere quella della composizione perchè l'Ordelaffi morì il 25 gennaio 1422 ; la moglie, Lucrezia degli Alidosi, che ebbe la reggenza a nome del figlio Tebaldo, fu imprigionata il 14 maggio 1423 da partigiani dei Visconti e riuscì a fuggire il 4 giugno di quell'anno.

I' sentì matutino (n. 61), fu aggiunta più tardi, dallo scrittore B, l'indicazione del nome di Andrea Stefani, un musicista fin qui sconosciuto, che ritroveremo nelle ultime aggiunte che costituiscono la terza fase della redazione del codice. Da concordanze con altri codici si ricavano i nomi di Nicolò da Perugia e di Bartolino come autori, rispettivamente, della ballata *Tal sotto l'acqua pesca* (n. 59) e del madrigale *Imperiale* (n. 62) ; della ballata n. 60, *Fugir non posso*, nemmeno i codici **BU** e **PC**, che pure la contengono, ci dànno l'autore. È citata nei sonetti del Prodenziani la ballata anonima *Non credo, donna* (n. 58), mentre l'altra ballata, *O cuor del corpo mio* (n. 64), è citata nel codice Chigiano 577 della Biblioteca Vaticana per aver dato luogo ad un adattamento come laude [75]. Tredici composizioni sono comunque, almeno per quanto riguarda la musica, apporto nuovo del codice.

Abbastanza singolare è che il madrigale di Bartolino (n. 62) si trovi qui dotato di un *contratenor* strumentale, in aggiunta alle due sole parti vocali date dagli altri quattro codici che lo contengono ; tanto più strano in quanto tutte le altre composizioni italiane contenute in questa parte del manoscritto si attengono al caratteristico impianto esclusivamente vocale a due parti. Caratteristiche italiane di ritmica e di notazione analoghe a quelle che abbiamo già segnalate in buona parte delle composizioni di Ciconia e in tutte quelle di Antonello si ritrovano nella ballatina di Nicolò da Perugia (n. 59) e in tre delle composizioni anonime, le ballate *Piangono l'ochi e l'alma mia suspira* (n. 55) e *O cuor del corpo mio* (n. 64), e il madrigale *O pensieri vani* (n. 68). Il testo di quest'ultimo ha però un sapore di toscanità che ci avverte di trovarci in un'altra linea di tradizione, che si può far risalire ad uno dei compositori che troveremo nelle aggiunte della terza fase, a Paolo da Firenze. Strettamente aderenti allo stile delle composizioni di Antonio Zacara sono le due ballate *Ahimè, per tutto l'or* (n. 56) e *Spinato intorno al cor* (n. 70) ; vi si accompagnano, specialmente nella prima, tutte le caratteristiche esteriori più tipiche del maestro di Teramo : tessitura grave delle due voci, armatura di chiave con due bemolli [76], prolazione maggiore, interrotta talvolta da squarci di ritmo binario introdotti con note rosse e rosse vuote. Nè è da meno la stramberia astrusa dei testi, chiaramente venati di impronte dialettali centro-meridionali. Un esplicito riferimento a Zacara è del resto contenuto nella seconda di queste ballate (*Spinato*, n. 70), nel cui contesto sono inseriti gli *incipit* sia letterari che musicali di due sue ballate, *Un fior gentile* e *Rosetta* (nn. 25 e 24). Fu lo stesso Zacara a compiacersi di tale

[75] C. 107. Sulla stessa pagina del cod. Chigiano è citato per la musica di un'altra lauda *Duyl angoxosa raye dismisurea.*

[76] Cfr. la ballata n. 33.

bizzarria, così come più tardi gli piacque costruire dei pezzi liturgici inserendovi i brani più salienti di ballate proprie (comprese le due ora citate)? o si tratta di un omaggio tributatogli da un discepolo o ammiratore?

I due *rondeaux* e il frammento di un *virelai* su testi francesi (nn. 57, 66 e 67) non possono non far pensare alla predilezione per le forme francesi dimostrata nella sezione principale del codice da Antonio da Cividale e alle composizioni pure anonime di tal genere che vi sono incluse. Si resta incerti invece di fronte ad un gruppo residuo di opere con caratteristiche meno spiccate, che non hanno nemmeno — a giudicare dall'aspetto linguistico dei testi — unica provenienza. Tracce dialettali farebbero pensare all'Italia settentrionale per *Fugir non posso* (n. 60) e per il frammento *Mille merzè* (n. 65) ; indirizzano invece verso le regioni centro-meridionali i testi di *A tanti òmini tanti voleri* (n. 63) e *Deh, tristo mi topinello* (n. 69). Infine, le ballate *Non credo, donna* (n. 58) e *I' sentì matutino* (n. 61, di Andrea Stefani), insieme al già citato madrigale *O pensieri vani*, costituiscono per la toscanità dei loro testi un collegamento con l'ultimo gruppo di aggiunte.

Sei composizioni italiane e una ballata francese formano il contenuto dell'ultimo gruppo di aggiunte, terza e ultima fase della redazione di **Mn**, a cui contribuirono due diversi amanuensi che abbiamo convenuto di designare come scrittori B e C. È dovuta al primo la notazione di quattro pezzi, tutti accompagnati dall'indicazione dell'autore, contenuti nelle cc. 19*b*'-17*b*' e sulle pagine raschiate 1*a*'-2*a* [77]. Il secondo aggiunse tre composizioni sulle tre ultime pagine, cc. 17*b*'-16*b*', senza indicarne gli autori ; l'unico nome che si scorge, c. 16*b*, per metà asportato dal taglio del margine superiore, è di una scrittura diversa da quella dei tre compilatori del codice.

Prima ancora che il contenuto di questa parte di **Mn** merita una particolare considerazione la personalità di questi due amanuensi. La caratteristica dello scrittore B di corredare ogni pezzo col nome dell'autore — Francesco degli Organi (n. 71), Andrea Stefani (nn. 72 e 73), Binchois (n. 2) — trova conferma nella indicazione « D'Andrea stephanj » che egli appose anche alla ballata n. 61, già notata dallo scrittore A nella seconda fase della redazione del codice. Con ciò viene a mettersi in evidenza la figura di Andrea Stefani, del quale è noto che univa il possesso di conoscenze musicali ad una notevole abilità scrittoria, in prova della quale si conservano tuttora a Firenze alcuni bei manoscritti da lui copiati [78]. Se anche il confronto

[77] Cfr. p. 116.

[78] Cfr. E. Li Gotti, « Per la biografia di due minori musicisti italiani dell' " Ars nova " », in *Restauri trecenteschi*, Palermo 1947, p. 98 e sgg. contenente anche no-

delle scritture, — calligrafica quella di **Mn**, corsive quelle dei mss fiorentini — non ha potuto dare una decisiva conferma all'ipotesi del Li Gotti di identificarlo nello scrittore B di **Mn** [79], le notevoli somiglianze che esso lascia riscontrare ci assicura di essere vicini al vero supponendo che gli scrittori B e C (certamente appartenenti ad una stessa scuola calligrafica) possano essersi formati nello stesso « studium scriptorium » dal quale uscì Andrea Stefani. Si tratterebbe quindi di amanuensi fiorentini che Paolo Guinigi, che ebbe fama di appassionato raccoglitore di libri [80] si sarebbe procurati a Firenze per adibirli a copiare codici per la sua biblioteca. Che vi fosse o non compreso Andrea Stefani, essi non dovettero mancare di estese conoscenze musicali ; oltre le notazioni di **Mn** che gli abbiamo attribuito, lo scrittore C contribuì con un numero considerevole di opere alla redazione del codice musicale **P** ; ma la circostanza più notevole è che egli, oltre che contribuire alla parte principale di questo codice, vi inserì ad un certo momento due interi fascicoli contenenti quasi esclusivamente composizioni di Paolo da Firenze [81], autore di una almeno delle tre composizioni aggiunte, sempre dallo stesso anonimo amanuense, negli ultimi fogli di **Mn**.

Una caratteristica dell'opera di Paolo da Firenze è che essa, stando alle apparenze, fu pochissimo conosciuta nella sua città natale : un solo manoscritto, il già citato codice **P**, ne contiene 32 composizioni ; ma nessuna **FP**, un solo madrigale **Lo** e nessuna **FL**, benchè sedici carte fossero destinate ad accoglierle, come mostra la loro intestazione col nome di « Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia ». Se ne può concludere che egli fosse poco conosciuto a Firenze ; un documento notarile dimostra infatti che il 16 luglio 1404 egli si trovava a Roma, probabilmente al seguito del cardinale Angelo Acciaiuoli, una vigorosa figura di ecclesiastico e uomo politico, che come legato pontificio governò il regno di Napoli fino alla maggiorità di Ladislao (1393) e fu sempre sostenitore degli interessi degli Angioini del ramo di Durazzo nella lunga lotta contro il pretendente francese al trono di Napoli, Luigi II d'Angiò [82]. Abbiamo già accen-

tizie su Bonaiuto Corsini. Per l'attribuzione a quest'ultimo della ballata n. 74 vedi E. Li Gotti, in *Musica Disciplina*, IV, 1950, p. 146.

[79] Cfr. *Musica Disciplina*, III, 1949, pp. 122-23, nota 6.

[80] Cfr. l'inventario già citato in S. Bongi, *Di Paolo Guinigi e delle sue ricchezze*, Lucca 1871. Gli oggetti e i libri di proprietà del Guinigi furono venduti, dopo la sua caduta, dal comune di Lucca in epoche diverse. Dei libri si interessarono in modo particolare i bibliofili fiorentini.

[81] Sono i quinterni corrispondenti, rispettivamente, alle cc. 51-60 e 71-80. Nel primo è compresa pure la ballata anonima *Con lagreme* che da *Mn* apprendiamo essere opera di Ciconia.

[82] Si tratta della minuta di uno *Instrumentum procurationis* redatto in casa dell'Acciaiuoli in contrada Parione a Roma. È contenuta nel codice Vaticano Lat. 2664, c. 252 e sgg. Come testimoni vi intervengono vari dignitari della corte papale, quasi tutti toscani, fra i quali Paolo. Cfr. N. Pirrotta, « Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino " extra moenia " », in *Homenaje a Menendez Pidal* (in corso di pubblicaz.).

nato alla possibilità che Paolo sia stato il promotore del movimento di restaurazione delle caratteristiche italiane ; una cronologia della sua produzione musicale — nella quale circa un terzo delle opere è rappresentato da madrigali e che in alcune composizioni presenta forme di notazione analoghe a quelle adottate dal Ciconia e da Antonello — non è facile da stabilire ; vi è in essa un solo punto sicuro di riferimento, il madrigale *Godi Firenze*, composto nel 1405 per festeggiare l'acquisto di Pisa da parte dei fiorentini, nel quale si possono intravvedere alcune delle caratteristiche che poi ricompaiono nella produzione del secondo decennio del secolo.

Il documento già ricordato ci fornisce un altro dato prezioso nei riguardi di Paolo, informandoci che egli fu abate di S. Pietro di Pozzoveri (o « de Putheolis »), abbazia camaldolese sita a brevissima distanza da Lucca ; si trattò probabilmente di una « commenda », cioè praticamente di un beneficio ecclesiastico senza obbligo di residenza nell'abbazia ; tuttavia è probabile che Paolo, al seguito del cardinale Acciaiuoli, fosse a Lucca nel 1408, nel tempo in cui Paolo Guinigi vi ospitò Gregorio XII con tutta la sua corte [83]. Nei riguardi del codice **Mn** ciò significa la probabilità che l'opera di polifonista di Paolo da Firenze fosse nota a Lucca prima che a Firenze e che l'ignoto scrittore C abbia ricavato da fonti conosciute durante il soggiorno lucchese le composizioni che inserì più tardi nel codice **P** [84].

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La presenza di una composizione di Binchois, ultima tra le ultime composizioni aggiunte al codice **Mn** porta la data di questa terza fase della redazione del codice ad un'epoca piuttosto avanzata nel corso del secolo XV, difficilmente anteriore al 1425 ; non si può d'altra parte oltrepassare come limite estremo il 1430, anno in cui ebbe termine la signoria di Paolo Guinigi, se si ammette che gli scrittori B e C siano stati due degli amanuensi che lavoravano ad arricchire la sua biblioteca. In base a ciò è anche facile determinare con sufficiente approssimazione l'età delle due parti precedenti del codice : ponendo intorno al 1420 la redazione della raccolta principale — che, come si è visto, raccoglie per buona parte opere composte entro il decennio precedente — e assegnando agli anni intermedi, tra il 1420 e il 1425, la prima serie di aggiunte che, pur continuando l'indirizzo del repertorio principale, contengono già qualche elemento che si ricollega al contenuto dell'ultimo gruppo di opere.

Roma.

[83] Cfr. Giovanni Sercambi, *Le Croniche* (già cit.), III, p. 128 e sgg.
[84] Cfr. *Musica Disciplina*, III, pp. 123-25 e note, 6, 12 e 13.

ANTOINE DE FEVIN

II.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

B. KAHMANN (*Rotterdam*)

After the biography we turn to the bibliography. Although the latter necessarily turns out rather statistical, it has nevertheless its own eloquence. « Life and works » has by now its own tradition and value for discovering someone from the past and shedding light on his activities. And in our case much light is required, because, owing to scarcity of documents, Fevin's « life », considered as a unit of concrete facts, can but faintly be traced.

Fortunately, we are better informed about his works. The gaps in our knowledge of Fevin's life are considerably filled in by means of various works of his, which in this case acquire the significance of « biographical facts ». Thus, Fevin's career loses its dimness as we view it in the light of his works. And, after all, for the history of music the musical works of a composer are more significant than other facts of his biography.

Use has been made of the customary catalogues, but not without circumspection in the case of those published long ago. Thus we have consulted Eitner, Haberl, the catalogues of the Associazione italiana, the catalogues by Hughes-Hughes for London, Roediger for Jena, Maier for Munich, Anglès for Spain, the *Tabulae codicum* of Vienna, etc. A notable source were the fascicles of Josquin edited by Smijers, where all kinds of references concerning the works of Fevin are to be found, and further, the catalogue prepared by Smijers of the music of Dutch masters in Italy. This catalogue is found in the Institute of Musical History of the University of Utrecht and also, though not complete, in the Istituto Storico olandese in Rome. Van Crevel's *Adrianus Petit Coclico*, has also been a source of much valuable data. In addition to the catalogues, various monographs and articles have supplied all kinds of information of bibliographical importance. Nevertheless it has often been necessary to consult well informed musicologists. Moreover, personal researches were carried out on the spot, as in Rome, Paris and Vienna. As a result a list has been drawn up of Fevin's works that is fairly exten-

sive and probably as good as complete, although, despite all endeavours, it is perhaps not yet altogether exhaustive.

The following list presents Fevin's works in two groups : those found in manuscripts and those in prints.

MANUSCRIPTS

MASSES

Ave Maria,	Jena, Univers. Bibl. C 27 (anon.)
	Roma, Bibl. Vat. Capp. Giulia XII 2 No. 2 Capp. Sist. 45
	Stuttgart, Würtemb. Landesbibl. cod. mus. 45 (anon.)
	Torino, Bibl. Naz. cod. Q m III 59 (Ris. mus. I 27)
Dictes moy,	Roma, Bibl. Vat. Capp. Sist. 16
de Feria 5 v.	's Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap C 72 A
	Jena, Univ. Bibl. C 2 and 4
	Stuttgart, Würtemb. Landesbibl.cod.mus.44
	Toledo, Arch. Cath.
de Feria 4 v.	Cambrai, Bibl. Munic. M 4
	Roma, Bibl. Vat. Capp. Sist. 16
	Verona, Bibl. Cap. cod. mus. DCCLXI
Mente tota	Barcelona, Bibl. Central M 454 No. 2
	Jena, Univ. Bibl. C 3
	Roma, Bibl. Vat. Capp. Giulia XII 2 No. 6 Capp. Sistina 16
	Wien, National Bibl. S. m. 15495
Missa parva	Roma, Bibl. Vat. Capp. Sist. 16
Missa ad placitum,	Bologna, Bibl. del Conserv. C Q 19 (anon.)
	Wien, Nat. Bibl. C 4810
O quam glorifica,	München, Staatsbibl. VII No. 4
	Wien, Nat. Bibl. S. m. 15497
Requiem,	Jena, Univ. Bibl. C 5
	Wien, Nat. Bibl. S. m. 15497
Salve Sancta Parens,	München, Staatsbibl. VII No. 2
Sancta Trinitas,	's Hertogenbosch, Ill. L. Vrouwe Broederschap C. 72 C
	Roma, Bibl. Vat. Capp. Sist. 160
Sanctorum meritis,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. cod. 4810
Kyrie, Gloria,	Bologna, Conserv.
	London, Add. 11582 No. 14 (ex S. Trinitas)
Credo,	Modena, Arch. Cap. del Duomo IV No. 9

MOTETS

Agnus Dei,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. cod. 18832 No. 60 (ex Mente tota)
Ascendens,	Toledo, Arch. Cath.
Benedictus,	München, Staatsbibl. Ms 260 (ex Mente tota)
	Wien, Nat. Bibl. cod. 18832 No. 18 (ex Mente tota) No. 61 (ex Mente tota)
Benedictus Dominus,	Roma, Capp. Sist. 26
Crucifixus,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. cod. 18832 No. 57 (ex Mente tota)
Dilectus Deo,	Padova, Bibl. Cap. A 17 No. 118 (anon.)
Duo rogavi,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. cod. 18832 No. 32 (Pleni ex Missa Fer. 5 voices)
Ecce Panis,	Modena, Arch. Capit. del Duomo IX No. 20
Et resurrexit,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. cod. 18832 No. 59 (ex Mente tota)
Homo quidam,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. Ms 15941 No. 23
Laetare Mater,	Bologna, Bibl. del Conservatorio
Lauda Sion,	Roma, Bibl. Vat. Capp. Sist. 46
Nesciens Mater,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. Ms 15941 No. 30
Nobilis progenie,	Padova, Bibl. Cap. A 17 No. 118 (anon.)
O pulcherrima,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. Ms 15941 No. 31
Pleni sunt,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. cod. 18832 No. 20 (ex Mente tota) No. 55
Qui fodit,	Wien, Nat. Bibl. cod. 18832 No. 33 (Agnus 2 ex Missa Fer. 5 voices)
Sancta Trinitas,	Barcelona, Bibl. Centr. 454 No. 9
	Breslau, Stadtbibl. Ms 3 No. 41
	Ms 5 No. 155
	Cambrai, Bibl. Munic. Ms 125-128
	Cambridge, Pepysian Libr. Ms 1760 No. 16
	Eisenach, Karl Alex. Bibl. Cantionale
	Kopenhagen, Gly. kgl. Samlung 1872 (anon.)
	Lübeck, Stadtbibl.
	Modena, Arch. Cap. del Duomo IX No. 19
	Padova, Bibl. Cap. A 17 No. 5 (anon.)
	Regensburg, Prosk. Bibl. A. R. 62 No. 10
	A. R. 65
	A. R. 70 No. 7
	A. R. 886 No. 12
	A. R. 940 No. 234
	Roma, Chigi C VIII 234 No. 10
	Verona, Bibl. Cap. cod. mus. DCCLX

Tempus meum,	Modena, Arch. Cap. del Duomo IX No. 17
	Regensburg, Prosk. Bibl. A. R. 69 No. 10
	A. R. 876 No. 4
	Toledo, Arch. Cath.
	Wien, Nat. Bibl. S. m. 18825 No. 9

MAGNIFICAT

Magnificat III toni	Berlin, Staatsbibl. M. 40013
III et IV toni,	Jena, Univ. Bibl. Chorbuch 20

LAMENTATIONES

Incipit Lamentatio,	Modena, Arch. Cap. M IX
Aleph. Quomodo sedet Beth. Plorans ploravit	Regensburg, Prosk. Bibl. B 36 No. XXIX
Ghimel. Migravit He. Facti sunt	Regensburg, Prosk. Bibl. B 36 No. XXX
Zain. Recordata est Lamech. O vos omnes	Regensburg, Prosk. Bibl. B 36 No. XXXI

CHANSONS

Je le laire,	Cambridge, Pepysian Libr. M 1760 No. 35
	London, British Mus. Harley 5242 No. 3
Pardonnez moi,	Firenze, Bibl. del Conserv. B 2442 No. 38
Fuyez regretz,	London, Brit. Mus. Add. 35087 No. 61

Other mss of Fevin seem to be found at
Dresden, Landesbibl. Glashütte V
München, Staatsbibl. 1536 No. 99
3154 No. 189
Roma, Bibl. Vat. Palatini Lat. 1980, 1981
Arch. Santa Maria Maggiore JJ III 4

PRINTS

MASSES

Ave Maria,	Petrucci, Fossombrone	1515
	Antiquus, Roma	1516
	Scotto, Venezia	1546

de Feria (5 voices)	Antiquus, Roma	1516	
Mente tota	Petrucci, Fossombrone	1515	
	Antiquus, Roma	1516	
	? ?	1560	
Sancta Trinitas	Petrucci, Fossombrone	1515	

MOTETS

Agnus Dei	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1545	
	Montanus, Nürnberg	1549	
Beatus homo,	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1545	
Benedictus,	Attaingnant, Paris	1531	
	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1545	
Benedictus Dominus,	Petrucci, Fossombrone	1514	
Crucifixus,	Montanus, Nürnberg	1549	
Descende,	Kriesstein, Augsburg	1540	
Dilectus Deo,	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1538	
Duo rogavi,	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1545	
Egregie Xi Confessor,	Petrucci, Fossombrone	1514	
Esurientes,	Montanus, Nürnberg	1549	
Et resurrexit,	Montanus, Nürnberg	1549	(twice)
Gaude regia Francorum,	Petrucci, Fossombrone	1514	
Haec probantur,	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1545	
In aeternum,	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1545	
Ne tardes,	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1545	
Nobilis progenie	Petrucci, Fossombrone	1514	
Pleni sunt	Gardano, Venezia	1543	
	Petri, Basel	1547	
Pulchra est,	Motanus, Nürnberg	1549	
Quae est ista	Kriesstein, Augsburg	1540	
Qui fodit,	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1545	
Quis est homo,	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1545	
Sancta Trinitas,	Petrucci, Fossombrone	1514	
	Attaingnant, Paris	1531	
	Montanus, Nürnberg	1555	and 1558
	Ochsenkuhn, Heidelberg	1557	
Tempus meum,	Petrucci, Fossombrone	1514	
	Montanus, Nürnberg	1555	

MAGNIFICAT

Magnificat	Attaingnant, Paris	1534	
III toni	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1544	
IV toni	Rhaw, Wittemberg	1544	

LAMENTATIONES

Quomodo sedet,	Attaingnant, Paris	1534
	Montanus, Nürnberg	1549
	LeRoy et Ballard, Paris	1557
Migravit Judas,	Attaingnant, Paris	1534
	Montanus, Nürnberg	1549
	LeRoy et Ballard, Paris	1557
Recordata est,	Attaingnant, Paris	1534
	Montanus, Nürnberg	1549
	LeRoy et Ballard, Paris	1557

CHANSON

Fors seulement	LeRoy et Ballard, Paris	1578

Notes on the Mss

Barcelona, Bibl. Central : pages 13 ad 14 are missing. On p. 14 was to appear the motet *Mente tota*, which however is not by Fevin but by Josquin.

Bologna, Conservatorio : The 4-voice mass is the same as the *Missa ad placitum* ; compare Capp. Sistina. 16. The *Kyrie* and *Gloria* which appear in the same Ms are without special title.

Breslau, Stadtbibl. ms. 3 : German organ Tabulature. Arnoldus de Bruck added two parts to it. In Ms 5 read only No. 155 ; it is the same as ms. 3, No. 44. The ms. contains « Stimmen zur Kompositionen die in ms. 2, 3 und 4 in Orgeltabulaturen enthalten sind ».

Dresden, Landesbibl. : The writer was unable to verify anything.

s'Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap : the *Sancta Trinitas* mass was ascribed to Mouton.

Eisenach, Groszherz. Karl Alex. Bibl. : the motet bears the name of Josquin (Cf. van Crevel, *Adrianus Petit Coclico*, p. 111).

Jena, Univ. Bibl. : Noteworthy is the absence of « pie memorie » in cod. mus. 2 and 3, while it is mentioned in cod. 4 and 5 and in Chorbuch 20. Roediger was not succesful in identifying the mass *Ave Maria* as being by Fevin. We were able to conclude that this so-called anonymous work is the same as that of Petrucci 1515. The annotation in cod. 2 « for six voices » is incorrect (Cf. Smyers, *Tydschrift voor Ned. Muziekwetenschap*, XVI, p. 16).

London, British Museum : in Add. ms 35087, fol. 56-57 there appears an anonymous song which begins with the same music and words as « Je le lauray » by Fevin ; but the rest is entirely different.

Roma, Capp. Sistina, cod. 16. Haberl says that in the mass *de Ferea*,

at the « Qui tollis » in the fifth voice is written « Vivat Leo » ; probably the codex was written during the Pontificate of Leo X (1513-1521). His crest is seen in the miniature of the first page.

By a comparison of the incipit it appears that the *Missa parva* of cod. 16 is the same as that known as « ad placitum », Paris, Bibl. du Conserv. Res. F 1331.

Van der Straeten records in Cod. 40 a mass *La bella se siet aupres de la tour.* According to Haberl it is a *Credo* which is found in cod. 44.

The number of pages is too small to be able to form a whole Mass (181v-184r). Moreover, the work is by Robert de Fevin, as can be read in the table of contents where the name of the composer is given, while none is given in the text itself. By the same Robert there is in cod. 26 the mass *de Domina nostra* which van der Straeten calls «de motto Domino».

In cod. 57 is found, according to Haberl (p. 134), the motet for 7 voices, *Sancta Trinitas.* It is interesting that the Cantus, the first Contraltus, the first Tenor and the Bass agree with the *initia* of the motet of the same name by Fevin.

It is not impossible that both *Tempus meum,* cod. 44, fol. 86, and *Viri Galilaei,* fol. 87, be by Fevin and not by an unknown author (Haberl, p. 166, Nos. 156 and 164). Cod. 160 contains the Mass *Sancta Trinitas* ascribed by Haberl (p. 85) to an unknown author. The Cantus and Contraltus are missing.

Notes on the printed works.

1515. As regards the masses of Fevin, Petrucci 1515, these are indeed to be found in the library of the Conservatoire in Paris, but only in four separate books, and with the signature R 416, not, as Delporte wrongly states, R 516. Fetis only records two copies, ignoring the copy in Paris.

1531. Attaingnant published transcriptions of vocal works for the organ. The *Benedictus* by Fevin is the only work carrying the name of its composer. For the sake of completeness we quote from van Crevel : « Yvonne Rokseth behauptet : La Messe de Fevin (*Sancta Trinitas*) reçut comme son motet l'adjonction de deux voix et c'est avec ce supplement que la Messe fut publiée par Ott a Nurnberg 1537 [1] Hierin irrt sie sich Ott hat im Jahre 1537 überhaupt keine Messen veröffentlicht und die Sammlung vom Jahre 1537 enthalt nur Motetten. Dass sich darunter die Motette Sancta Trinitas mit den beiden Zusatzstimmen befand, war Yvonne Rokseth offenbar auch unbekannt als sie schrieb : Le compositeur Arnold de Bruck ajouta deux voix au Motet qui sous cette forme fut publiée 1555 [2].

[1] Yv. Rokseth, *Treize motets et un prelude pour orgue parus chez Pierre Atteingnant en 1531,* Droz, Paris, 1930.

[2] M. v. Crevel, *Adr. Petit Coclico, Leben und Beziehungen eines nach Deutschland emigrierten Josquinschülers,* Nyhoff, the Hague 1940, p. 112, note 2.

It is interesting to note what Luther said about this adaptation for 6 voices. We quote Tischreden 4316 : « Deinde canebant Sancta Trinitas etiam sex vocum, sed duae erant adulterinae. Ubi dixit : Es hat einer wollen besser machen et simplicitatem depravavit. Nam quattuor illae voces mirae sunt suavitatis et simplicitatis. Nam simplicia in omnibus artibus sunt jucundiora » [3].

1534. Liber XI, Attaingnant. In contradiction to what Fetis says, this book includes only one motet : *Gaude regia Francorum.* The text probably has reference to some important historical event.

Gaude Francorum regia corona
Gaude tu magis plebs tam benigna
Recte petisti et ex bisuno
Pacem perfecit quod desiderasti
Corde profundo facta conserves
Flendaque rege parce peccatis.

1537. Van Crevel says that there are three copies of Ott 1537 of which only one complete, viz. B 45-50 [4].

In *Novum et insigne opus* by Ott the motet *Sancta Trinitas* for six voices is given as anonymous. In the copy at Jena is added in handwriting : Fevin [5].

1538. Rhaw. *Symphoniae iucundae* etc.. According to Enders-Kawerau, Eitner is incorrect in stating (*Quellenlexicon*) that there is a copy in Münich, State Library [6]. Crevel notes that Enders in turn is incorrect in believing that only the Tenor is to be found at Dresden and Rostock [7]. The library at Heilbronn has also a complete copy [8].

1540. Kriesstein. *Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae* etc. Does not contain « des chansons françaises » (Fetis), but two Latin motets.

1545. Rhaw, *Bicinia Gallica* etc. We have come across many of these duets in other works of Fevin ; so that here it is merely a question of a new text fitted to existing music.

Duo rogavi, No. 33 the same as « Pleni sunt » from Missa *de Ferea* for 5 voices.
Qui fodit foveam, No. 35 = « Agnus secundus » from the same mass.
Quis est homo, No. 61 = « Agnus secundus » from the mass *Ave Maria.*
Ne tardes converti, No. 68 = « Pleni sunt » from the same mass.

[3] Tischreden, *Martin Luther*, Weimarer-Ausgabe.
[4] M. v. Crevel, *Op. cit.*, p. 104, notes 5, 3.
[5] R. Eitner, *Op. cit.* See also v. Crevel, *Op. cit.*, p. 110, note 1.
[6] E. Endres-Kawerau, *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel*, 17 Bände, Frankfurt a. M., Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1884-1920.
[7] M. v. Crevel, *Op. cit.*, p. 135.
[8] E. Mayser, *Alter Musikschatz geordnet und beschrieben*, Heilbronn 1893.

In Secundus Tomus Biciniorum :

Beatus homo, No. 56 = « Pleni sunt » from the mass *Mente tota*
In aeternum Domine and *Haec probantur* (which has in the Tenor the added note : Brumel) are most likely also adaptations ; we have not yet been able to identify them.
Quae est ista, No. 118 is original : « fuga tetraphona post duo tempora ».

1549. Montanus and Neuber. *Diphona amoena et florida* : Twice we find : « Et resurrexit » in Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musiksammelwerke*, II p. 553 under Fevin ; viz., Nos. 54 and 63. In all probability they are two reproductions of the same *bicinium* ; the more so because Eitner gives under 1549 five pieces by Fevin and not six. Similarly in the catalogue by Cohen [9].

1557. LeRoy et Ballard, *Piissimae ac sacratissimae Lamentationes* : Fetis cites 1558 and does not mention *Quomodo sedet*.

1578. LeRoy et Ballard, *Premier Livre de chansons* etc. : In the Bibl. Nat. in Paris there is only the Superior.

A Survey of Fevin's work.

Going over the list of works in manuscript and print given above, we can make certain remarks and draw certain conclusions above the level of a mere quantitative appraisal. Without immediately desiring to broach the question of the musical value of these works, it is none the less possible for us to approach the composer more closely by this means. The mere chronicle of those works has of itself much less importance than their chronology ; but it nevertheless affords us the opportunity of giving a few elucidations.

It appears that Fevin devoted his attention above all to religious music ; more so, it would seem, than some of his great contemporaries. His secular compositions so far found are 4 chansons : *Pardonnez-moi* (Florence), *Je le lairray* (London, Cambridge), *Fuyez regretz* (London) and *Fors seulement* (printed at Paris). We have a very interesting witness regarding Fevin's chansons in a letter by Louis XII from Asti written to Guillaume de Montmorency, dated April 7th, 1507. From this letter it follows that Fevin's chansons were much sought after : « Quant le chançon sera faicte par Fevyn et vos visaiges pourtraitz par Jehan de Paris, ferez bien de les m'envoyer pour monstrer aux dames de par deça, car il n'en a point de pareilz ». It is conceivable that this « point de pareilz » refers as much to « visaiges pourtraitz » as to « chançon ». They were so good that they could safely be shown to the « dames par deça ». A similar judgement makes us suppose that Fevin probably wrote more than the 4 chansons we have by him. It is thus likely that a number — how great we do not know — have been lost or are still anonymous.

[9] P. Cohen, *Die Nürnberger Musikdrucke im XVI Jahrh.*, Erlangen 1927.

Of Fevin's sacred music, we possess 11 complete masses, either in Ms or in print. Following is a classification according to their occurrence in manuscripts :

Missa de Feria (5-voice)	5 times
Missa de feria (4-voice)	3 »
Mente tota	5 »
Ave Maria	5 »
Sancta Trinitas	2 »
O quam glorifica luce	2 »
Requiem	2 »
Salve Sancta parens	1 time
Dictes moy touttes vos pensées	1 »
Missa parva	1 »
Missa (without title)	1 »
Missa ad placitum	1 »
Sanctorum meritis	1 »

We have not seen the last mass mentioned in a single catalogue nor quoted by any author, so that it is given here for the first time. We found it by chance in the library of the Conservatoire in Paris, in a collection of some 80 volumes, called *Collection Bottée Toulmon*, in which are included a variety of transcriptions of complete Mss from libraries throughout Europe. The volume containing our mass bears the signature, Res. F 1331. As given in the beginning of this volume the mass is a copy of that in Vienna, 4810 (beginning of the 16th century). It is clear from the same collection, that the mass at Bologna, Liceo mus. Q 19, p. 142, is the same as that called « ad placitum ».

The *Missa de feria* for 5 voices and the masses *Mente tota* and *Ave Maria* have the largest diffusion in Mss. With the printed works the matter stands as follows :

Mente tota	3	(1515, 1516, 1560)
Ave Maria	3	(1515, 1516, 1546)
Sancta Trinitas	1	(1515)
Missa de feria 5 v.	1	(1516)

Thus we must correct what Delporte says, namely, that of the 12 masses by Fevin 6 are preserved in prints and 6 in Ms. On the contrary, of the 11 masses, 4 were originally printed and 11 in Ms. The distribution of the masses in prints and manuscripts taken together is as follows :

Mente tota	8
Ave Maria	7
De Feria	6
Sancta Trinitas	3

Undoubtedly these are the masses that were sung most. The first and the second are based on motets by Josquin, in the fashion of the parody-mass. The 5-voice *Ferialis* is constructed on gregorian motifs. *Sancta Trinitas* is another parody-mass based on the motet of the same name

by Fevin himself. *O quam glorifica luce* and *Sanctorum meritis* make use of gregorian melodies : the first taken from a hymn out of the old Office of the Assumption of Our Lady, and the second from the hymn of the 2nd *Vespers de pluribus Martyribus*. The *Requiem* and the *Salve Sancta Parens* are similarly based on gregorian *cantus firmus*. There still remain the *Missa parva* (*ad placitum*) and *Dictes moy*. The first appears to make use of gregorian melodies, and the other is based on the chanson *Dictes moy touttes vos pensées*. I have been unable to identify the 4-voice *Ferialis*.

The dates show that these masses were printed within a period of only two years, during the years 1515 and 1516. After this we find no further complete masses of Fevin printed. Although the first publication of Petrucci 1515 is announced as a collection of masses by Fevin, actually only three of the five belong to Antoine, the other two being by Robert de Fevin and Pierre de la Rue. In 1516 they are again published, but the *Sancta Trinitas* falls out in favour of the *Ferialis* for 5 voices.

In fact Fevin is but rarely met with in the best known collections of the beginning of the 16th century, of which a good many were printed under the title of *Liber Missarum*. Petrucci alone has a dozen between 1500 and 1516. Once established that during Fevin's life no single work of his was printed and that the publication of his masses ceases in less than 4 years, one may ask for what reason was interest in his music so limited. What follows is perhaps an acceptable explanation.

We should first of all note that comparing the composers in the first of Petrucci's printed works (*Harmonice Musices Odhecaton*) with those in his numerous *Liber Missarum* which regularly follow one another during the subsequent years, we find that the composers who occupy the first places in the *Odhecaton*, for instance Josquin, De Orto, Obrecht, P. de la Rue, all obtain their own *Liber Missarum*. Moreover, many of these collections are reprinted, either by Petrucci himself or by others ; thus we have for example Brumel with 5 editions, P. de la Rue with 6, Isaac with 4, not to mention Josquin. In this stream of mass-publications, after a pause between 1509-1513 (from Venice to Fossombrone) there finally appear other collections of masses, notably, in addition to the reprints of Josquin, the first edition of Mouton, dedicated to him entirely, and then those of Fevin together with Robert and Pierson.

Mouton was to go through 4 editions, Fevin 2 editions. We draw attention to Mouton just at this point because he is in the same position as Fevin, and we believe for the same reason. Both composers fail to appear in the *Odhecaton* among the great men and therefore it will be needless to seek them among the privileged ones who recieved their own *Liber Missarum*.

Their absence becomes more understandable when we consider another factor. All the musicians on whom Petrucci lavishes special attention by giving them a *Liber Missarum* by themselves, had musical relations with Italy ; with the exception of P. de la Rue, all of them, Josquin, Brumel, Ghiselin, Obrecht, Agricola, Isaac and Gaspar were once or several times in Italy, either at some court or at the Papal Chapel. Their sojourn

in that country gave their works a wide propagation and notoriety, and thus more readily qualified them for being printed or reprinted. Fevin and Mouton, on the other hand, were never in Italy and therefore were passed over until they attracted attention at a much later stage.

If the number of editions of a particular work was to be regarded as an index to the esteem in which it was held, then one would almost be forced to the conclusion that Fevin's Masses enjoyed little popularity. On the other hand one must remember that these masses were copied 26 times in manuscripts, and this is an indication not to be underrated. Furthermore, the fact that sections of these masses were repeatedly printed in *Bicinia* indicates a notable propagation in some circles.

All the extant masses of Fevin are for 4 voices, with the exception of the *Missa de Feria* for 5 voices, and the Requiem which from the *Sanctus* on has 5 voices.

As regards mass-sections, we find them for example in Bologna. Cons., Q 19, fol. 173 (a Kyrie and Gloria) ; or again in Modena, Archivio Capitolare, ms. IV, No. 9 (just a Credo). We have already mentioned that mass-sections quite frequently appeared in printed form. It certainly appears to have been a custom to publish mass-sections in printed collections, or also in theoretical treatises for use as examples in teaching. Naturally only the more concise parts were suitable for this sort of publication ; so also in the case of other collections where we find *Benedictus*, *Pleni sunt* and *Agnus Dei* and which carry the unstriking title of *Bicinia or Diphona*. These collections bear a popular character, but also for this reason they cannot give any adequate idea of a mass in its entire structure, the more so because in the period with which we are concerned, mass-composition did not consist of merely putting together several pieces without any connection, but of a close and organically connected construction. The mass is built up on motifs and themes which permeate all its parts and form the musical drift of the whole work. We must only think, for example, of the masses based on *cantus firmus* and of the parody-masses.

A good deal of Fevin's music, then, is found in the *Bicinia*. Nearly all the so-called « motets » are taken from Duets out of his masses. This large number of compositions for two voices printed in a relatively late period is somewhat surprising. One is struck by the appearance of a number of *Bicinia*, *Diphona* and *Cantiones* in collections, for example Kriesstein's in 1540, Gardano's in 1543, Rhaw's in 1545, Montanus' in 1549. This movement shows something of a fad for multilingual collections (French, German, Latin) of very simple and light material for popular aims. Very probably these compositions were used in milieus where there existed a great hobby for indulging in music in small groups, capable of performing these « cantiones familiarissimae ». The very fact that these *bicinia* appear so long after Fevin's death make us suspect also motives rather on the side of the publishers' interests.

Taking into account the many duplications in these *bicinia*, and excluding the pieces that are parts of masses previously published, the body of Fevin's works diminishes considerably. Besides a few *Magnificat* and *Lamentationes* there remain at present some fifteen motets by Fevin,

of which the most widely known is the *Sancta Trinitas*. Gathering all instances of this motet in Ms or print, for 4 voices or with the two *adulterinae* of Bruck, we obtain 17 different copies, with and without attribution.

The publication of Fevin's motets was spread over a much greater period of time than that of his masses. The first published motet (1514, by Petrucci) appeared a year before the masses. The 6 motets by which Fevin is represented in the Liber I of the *Motetti de la Corona*, make not at all a bad showing, even if only judged by their number. After this there was a pause in the publication of the motets, and the masses appeared in the meantime. After the *Liber XV Missarum*, 1516, nothing else of our composer was published for 15 years, until in 1531, now in Paris by Attaingnant. This period lasted till the year 1578 when, still in Paris, the series closed with the editions of LeRoy et Ballard. The other editions nearly all appeared in Germany from the year 1537 onwards, except two which came out in Venice in 1543 and 1546, and one other in Paris in 1557. Finally we may mention here that the *Dodecachordon* of Glareanus includes a small piece by Fevin as specimen.

Thus Fevin occurs in some 22 publications, a favourable indication, and a reflection of the interest taken in his music, especially in the form of *bicinium* or motet. The years between 1540 and 1550 show the most frequent publication of Fevin's works. Nine times, almost each year, a publication included music by Fevin.

Also the motets are mainly for 4 voices, except the revision which de Bruck made of the *Sancta Trinitas*. The *Homo quidam* for 16 voices which, according to Eitner, is to be found in Vienna (Ms 15941, No. 23), is surely a myth, as the writer has himself checked at Vienna.

Finally, there are the pieces in instrumental versions, as the edition for the organ by Attaingnant, 1531 of a *Benedictus* and of the *Sancta Trinitas*, and a version for the lute of the mass *Ave Maria* published by Scotto in 1546, and of the motet *Sancta Trinitas* published by Ochsenkuhn in 1558.

Summing up, of Fevin's works there are extant 11 Masses, some 15 motets and just a couple of chansons, though of the latter there must have in all probability been more. On the other hand, some 15 motets occuring in as many as 60 instances (Ms and print) would suggest that this repertory will probably remain restricted to the list already given.

Rotterdam

CLEMENT JANEQUIN

Recherches sur sa vie et son oeuvre

François Lesure (*Paris*)

Il y a vingt-cinq ans, Clément Janequin était l'un des compositeurs les plus obscurs du XVI^e^ siècle. On le voulait lyonnais ou belge, chantre à la Chapelle pontificale, protestant ou juif. Maurice Cauchie [1] et Jacques Levron [2] ont apporté des précisions sur deux étapes essentielles de sa carrière et nous espérons que, grâce aux nouveaux documents publiés ici, l'existence et l'oeuvre de ce compositeur seront désormais plus solidement rattachés au mouvement musical français du temps.

Sans doute reste-t-il bien des pistes de recherches. Les archives de Bordeaux, d'Angers et de Paris pourront certainement éclaircir plusieurs points restés obscurs. Mais, telle quelle, la biographie de Janequin peut suffire à une étude d'ensemble de son oeuvre, dont ce travail voudrait être comme un préliminaire, Ont été publiés jusqu'ici : une messe (sur deux), l'unique motet connu, un psaume (sur 82) et 54 chansons (sur 287). Dans ce choix on a fait une part prépondérante aux oeuvres imitatives d'une part, aux chansons dont les paroles n'étaient pas de nature à choquer les oreilles de choristes ou d'auditeurs éventuels d'autre part. Dans le but de combler un jour ces lacunes, on a établi, à la suite de cet article, une bibliographie de l'oeuvre profane de Janequin, qui permettra d'établir à tous moments un parallèle entre les circonstances de la vie du compositeur et sa production musicale.

L'existence de Janequin se développe en trois phases — Bordeaux, Angers, Paris. — Nous rappellerons brièvement les deux premières,

[1] *Clément Janequin. Recherches sur sa famille et sur lui-même,* dans *Revue de musicologie,* février 1923, p. 13-25. Du même : *Clément Janequin, chapelain du duc de Guise,* dans *Le Ménestrel,* 21 janvier 1927, p. 21 ; *Les psaumes de Janequin,* dans les *Mélanges de musicologie offerts à M. L. de La Laurencie,* Paris, Société française de musicologie, 1933, p. 47-56.

[2] *Clément Janequin musicien de la Renaissance. Essai sur sa vie et ses amis,* Arthaud, Grenoble et Paris, 1948, 133 p. (Sur quelques points de détail voir le compte-rendu de la *Revue de musicologie,* 1948, p. 95-97).

en y apportant des précisions nouvelles sur les milieux artistiques avec lesquels le musicien a été en contact. Mais c'est le dernier séjour parisien, jusqu'ici inconnu, qui nous retiendra avant tout.

BORDEAUX

On a de bonnes raisons de penser que Janequin est né à Châtellerault, où ses parents, Etienne Janequin et Loyse Liachere, possédaient tous leurs biens et où ils étaient morts avant juin 1534. La jeunesse de Clément demeure absolument inconnue. Dans ce domaine, le petit jeu des hypothèses qui consiste à fixer à tout prix une date de naissance au compositeur nous parait assez vain. On peut imaginer qu'il a pu passer ses premières années à Châtellerault et que, de là, il fut peut-être réclamé par une maîtrise bordelaise. En effet, un document des Archives de la Gironde [3] nous apprend qu'au début de 1480, le chapitre de Saint-André de Bordeaux fit louer un cheval pour aller chercher à Châtellerault un enfant choriste.

Mais le premier témoignage assuré que nous possédions de Janequin n'est ni un document d'archives ni un texte littéraire, mais sa musique même. A ma connaissance, on n'a jamais remarqué que les premières oeuvres du musicien ont été publiées huit ans avant les débuts d'Attaingnant dans un recueil italien. Les *Chansons a troys* [4], imprimées en octobre 1520 sans aucun nom d'auteurs par Andrea Antico pour Luca Antonio Giunta, contiennent en effet, à côté d'oeuvres de Josquin, Févin, La Rue, « Or sus vous dormez trop », chanson composée sur un vieux virelai du XIV[e] s., qui, à un petit nombre de variantes près, paraissait sous le nom de Janequin chez Attaingnant en 1528, *C'est malencontre que d'aymer* et *Tant est gentil,* attribuées à Janequin dans le *Libro primo* de Festa (Gardane, 1541). Découverte qui eût suffi, il y a cinquante ans, pour conclure que le compositeur avait passé une partie de sa jeunesse en Italie, qu'il avait assisté à la journée de Marignan, etc. Mais l'histoire du commerce et du colportage du livre au XVI[e] s. rendrait cette hypothèse inutile en l'absence de tout document. Ce fait démontre assurément qu'avant 1520 circulaient déjà des copies manuscrites d'oeuvres de Janequin et que l'une d'elles a pu aisément parvenir à Venise ou Florence, où les éditeurs s'intéressaient vivement à la chanson française. Un argument plus sérieux pour-

[3] G 285, fol. 159.

[4] La Bibliothèque nationale possède de ce recueil les seules parties de *superius* et de *bassus*. Sur le premier figure la marque d'Antico, sur le second le privilège de Léon X daté du 28 décembre 1507 et le colophon suivant : « Venetiis impressum opera et arte Andree Antiqui impensis vero. D. Luce Antonii de Giunta. Anno 1520. Die XV. octobris registrum ». Sur Antico, voir l'introduction des *Canzoni sonetti strambotti* ed. by A. Einstein, Smith College, t. IV, 1941, p. VII-VIII.

rait appuyer la thèse italienne : Janequin est le seul compositeur de la grande série des 35 livres d'Attaingnant à avoir composé dans le style madrigalesque une pièce italienne : *Si comme il chiaro.* [4 bis] Il s'agit en fait d'un problème qui devra être étudié dans son ensemble : les possibilités et les réalités des rapports franco-italiens au début du XVI[e] s. ne sont nullement particulières à Janequin.

Bordeaux n'était pas sans tradition musicale [5]. Les chapitres de St-André et de St-Seurin entretenaient des psallettes qui semblent avoir été assez brillantes. Comme dans la plupart des villes françaises, elles participaient aux représentations et fêtes populaires. En 1526 un chroniqueur commente ainsi le concert donné en l'honneur de l'entrée de François I[er] : « Tam dulci exquisitoque modulorum concentu contrespuere ut nihil usque ne Apollo quidem cum suis musis eque mortalium aures demulcerit ». En 1529 l'entrée d'Henri d'Albret, roi de Navarre, dut donner lieu à des réjouissances musicales du même genre. Au lendemain de la domination anglaise la maitrise de St-André avait été réorganisée. En 1472, le doyen du chapitre, Jean Avril, s'était rendu à Paris pour y chercher un maître et deux enfants ayant de belles voix. A St-Seurin au début du XVI[e] s., le chapitre réussit à s'assurer le concours d'un musicien dont la personnalité et l'oeuvre n'ont jamais été mis en lumière, Guillaume Piétrequin. De lui trois célèbres manuscrits florentins conservent sept chansons : Bibl. naz., XIX. 59 et XIX. 178 ; Riccardiana 2794 [6]. En juin 1502, peu après le départ d'Antoine Brumel, il était clerc de matines à Notre-Dame de Paris. Mais son assiduité et sa conduite envers un des enfants de chœur laissèrent à désirer, si bien qu'il fut licencié le 3 mars 1503 (nouv. st.) [7]. On ignore tout de son existence pendant les années suivantes. Fit-il, comme Brumel, un séjour en Italie? C'est ce que pourrait donner à penser l'une de ses chansons « Adieu Florence la jolye »[8]. On retrouve Piétrequin en 1517 à Bordeaux, où le chapitre de St-Seurin l'engage comme maître de la psallette pour une année. Un contrat du 17 octobre de cette année précise dans le détail les conditions matérielles qui lui sont faites et le qualifie simplement de « maistre musicien », sans rien dire de son origine [9].

Rien de semblable n'a malheureusement été retrouvé pour Jane-

[4 bis] On notera cependant que Cl. de Sermisy écrivit une pièce sur des paroles italiennes gans les *28 chansons* d'Attaingnant (1534).

[5] Pour une vue d'ensemble voir l'article « Bordeaux » de *Musik in Gesch. und Gegenwart*, fasc. 10, 1951.

[6] On notera que le texte de l'une de celles-ci, *Mais que ce fut secretement*, sera aussi mis en musique par Janequin. Se trouve aussi dans Rome, Cap. Giulia, XIII, 27.

[7] Archives nationales, LL 128, fol. 360, 371, 441, 448.

[8] Florence, Bibl. naz., XIX. 178, fol. 77 v°-78 r° ; XIX. 59, fol. 150 v°-151 r°.

[9] Archives de la Gironde, G 1162, fol. 243. Cf. aussi G 1185, s. d.

quin. Un bref passage d'une épitre d'Eustorg de Beaulieu, retrouvé par M. Cauchie, a simplement révélé l'existence du cercle bordelais qui groupait en 1529 plusieurs amateurs de musique chez Bernard de Lahet, avocat du roi. Beaulieu, Lahet et un certain « Blaise » y chantaient précisément des chanson à trois « jusqu'à mynuit », à une époque où sévissait durement la famine. C'est « pour estre à la musique enclin » que le maître de céans avait invité Janequin à ces soirées et d'autres aussi, « tous gens d'expérience et où gisoit musicalle science », dont Beaulieu ne donne pas les noms.

Une pièce de circonstance, parue en 1530 dans les *36 chansons* de P. Attaingnant, semble bien se rattacher à la fin du séjour bordelais de Janequin. La Paix de Cambrai en 1529 libérait les enfants de France, prisonniers en Espagne à la place de François Ier. Pour fêter cet heureux événement et peut-être pour leur passage à Bordeaux, le compositeur écrivit la chanson « Chantons, sonnons trompetes » dans laquelle il invitait « jeunes fillettes, bourgeoyses et bourgeoys » à chanter et à danser en signe de joie.

ANGERS

On peut admettre que Janequin quitta la région bordelaise entre 1530 et 1532. Des raisons qui poussèrent le compositeur à gagner l'Anjou, J. Levron en a retenu une essentielle : la présence à Angers de son frère Simon. Il devait cependant conserver de solides relations en Gironde, comme on le verra par la suite.

Le 22 mars 1533 (n. st.), Janequin, qui était depuis une date inconnue curé de Brossay, est présenté comme curé d'Avrillé à l'évêque d'Angers par l'abbesse du Ronceray. Les nobles dames de cette abbaye ne semblent pas avoir été fâchées d'avoir dans leur ressort un curé aussi célèbre. Quelques années plus tard, elles engageaient comme organiste Jean Sevin, lequel composait des chansons tout aussi profanes, dont on trouve une en 1556 dans le *Second livre de chansons* imprimé à Paris par M. Fezandat [10].

Nous ne reviendrons pas ici sur les premières étapes du séjour angevin de Janequin, éclairé désormais par les découvertes de J. Levron, lequel a également retracé une partie du *background* littéraire de la cité : Guillaume Frappin, oncle de Rabelais, Lucas Le Moigne, Jean et Charles de Bourdigné, surtout Jean Daniel, dit *Mitou*, organiste de la cathédrale depuis 1524 [11]. Ce dernier est surtout célèbre pour ses *Noëls*. Je pense que l'on a été trop généreux envers lui en lui attribuant aussi des chansons publiées à Paris chez Attaingnant

[10] *Toutes ont prins en mon jugement place.*

[11] Cf. en dernier lieu sur lui : L. Courant, *Jean Daniel organiste de St-Pierre d'Angers*, dans *L'Anjou historique*, avril-juin 1950, p. 71-76.

et chez A. le Roy et R. Ballard entre 1548 et 1565. C'était un autre *Mithou* qui travaillait avec les imprimeurs parisiens : Thomas Champion, auteur d'un volume de psaumes polyphoniques publié chez F. Trepeau en 1561 et auquel, raisonnablement, on doit attribuer les sept chansons en question [12]. En revanche, on doit noter que le collègue de Janequin à la psallette de la cathédrale, protégé en même temps que lui par François de Gondi, Loys Henry, qui lui succédera comme maître de 1537 à 1561, était lui aussi compositeur. Une de ses chansons, *Qui veult estre joly*, parut à côté d'une chanson de Janequin dans le second livre du *Difficile des chansons*, imprimé à Lyon par Jacques Moderne à une date inconnue [13].

Mais il y eut aussi à Angers, en ce début du XVI^e^ s., un groupe de poètes encore peu étudiés, que l'on peut rattacher de plus ou moins près au monde marotique et au premier rang desquels on placera Germain Colin [14]. Celui-ci parait bien au fait des cercles musicaux angevins, écrit l'épitaphe du maître de la psallette d'Angers Jean Foliot, « chantre picard et discret », nous révèle que l'évêque qui nomma Janequin à la cure d'Avrillé, l'humaniste Jean Olivier (évêque de 1532 à 1540), avait à son service un « excellent joueur de violes et bon poète » du nom de Guillaume Cadiot [15]. Parmi les poésies éditées de G. Colin et celles d'autres poètes angevins, nous n'avons pu jusqu'à présent découvrir que deux traductions latines qui aient inspiré Clément Janequin (voir bibliographie). Il y en eut évidemment d'autres, comme il y eut aussi des *voix de ville* locaux dont il dut s'emparer pour plus d'une chanson (*Quand je boy du vin clairet?*). Il est vrai qu'à Angers l'on ne tardait pas à être mis au courant du mouvement poétique de la Cour. Pour sa part Janequin connut à une vitesse étonnante la mode des blasons anatomiques lancée par Marot à la fin de l'année 1535 avec l'épigramme *Du beau tétin* [16]. En effet, dès février 1536 (n. st.), Attaingnant publiait dans le *Second livre contenant XXV chansons nouvelles* cette pièce mise en musique par lui : probablement l'un des plus fins chefs d'œuvre de l'érotisme musical du XVI^e^ s. Ce fait démontre à nouveau que c'est dans les rapports qui liaient auteurs et éditeurs qu'il faut chercher pour les musiciens l'explication de bien des « inspirations » poétiques.

[12] Champion, qui était organiste de la Chambre du roi depuis 1557, avait habité quelques années avant rue St-Jean de Beauvais, où étaient installés Le Roy et Ballard. Nous renvoyons aussi sur ce personnage à un futur article de *Musik in Gesch. und Gegenwart.*

[13] La date de 1555, qui a été avancée, est beaucoup trop tardive.

[14] J. Denais, *Les poésies de Germain Colin Bucher, angevin*, Paris, 1890, introduction, p. 245 et 254.

[15] Cf. sur lui C. Port, *Dict. du Maine-et-Loire.*

[16] Le succès musical de cette mode est encore attesté en 1556 dans une publication de Waelrant : « Jardin musical... ensemble le blason de beau et laid Tetin ».

La ville avait, d'autre part, ses traditions : le Sacre ou procession de la Fête-Dieu, l'entrée de l'évêque, l'installation ou les obsèques des officiers municipaux étaient pour la psallette autant de prétextes à se faire entendre. Également les bandes de joueurs d'instruments dans lesquelles on pouvait reconnaître des virtuoses de grande classe: Jean et Claude de la Canessière, membres d'une famille de facteurs et de joueurs d'instruments parisiens [17] et surtout Jean Alain, violoniste célébré aux côtés d'Arcadelt, Jean Dugué et Lambert de Beaulieu par Olivier de Magny, dans son ode « Des grâces et perfections de s'amye ». On venait de loin s'assurer de leur concours, comme Louis de Rohan, seigneur de Guéméné et de Montbazon, qui en mai 1550 les fait venir dans son château proche de Pontivy [18].

Les humanistes angevins montraient une évidente fierté dans l'activité intellectuelle et artistique de leur région. Beaucoup devaient dire, comme Jean Le Masle [19] :

> Or nostre Anjou et le Maine se vantent
> A juste droit que sans cesse ils enfantent
> Plusieurs subtils et excellents esprits.

Pour Janequin ce fut une époque particulièrement brillante. Par quatre fois P. Attaingnant lui consacra entièrement un de ses recueils : en 1533 (*24 chansons*), 1536 (*Tiers livre* avec Passereau), 1537 (*Les chansons de la Guerre...*) et 1540 (*8e livre*). Sans doute aussi est-ce à ce moment que le compositeur confia à son fidèle imprimeur le manuscrit d'un recueil de motets à quatre voix. D'après Becker, repris par Fétis et d'autres, auraient paru en 1533 dans la maison de la rue de la Harpe des *Sacrae cantiones seu motectae quatuor vocum* de Janequin [20]. Le titre de ce volume a probablement été recueilli par Becker dans un de ces ouvrages de références encyclopédique du XVIIe s. analogue à ceux de Draudius et de Clessius. Bien qu'aucun exemplaire n'en ait jusqu'à présent été retrouvé, on peut admettre son existence comme très vraisemblable. Un motet à quatre voix, *Congregati sunt*, ayant été publié en 1538 à Ferrare dans le *Liber cantus* (*voc. quatuor*) *triginta novem motetis habet*, imprimé par J. de Bulghat et ses associés, on a peine à croire que ce fut là le seul motet

[17] Ils étaient fils de Philippe, mort à Paris en 1551. Claude devait être supplicié le Ier février 1556 sur la place des Terreaux à Lyon pour hérésie (*Hist. abrégée des martyrs français*, p. 190).

[18] J. Levron, *Une association de musiciens au XVe s.*, dans *Euterpe*, 1949, n. 7, p. 127, article répété sous le titre *Musiciens angevins du XVIe s.* dans *L'Anjou historique*, avril-juin 1950, p. 49-58 (avec publication des documents).

[19] Dans les *Nouvelles récréations*, éd. de 1586.

[20] C. F. Becker, *Die Tonwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahr.*, Leipzig, 1847, col. 23.

composé par le musicien [21]. En outre, ce livre de 1533 expliquerait assez bien la raison pour laquelle aucune de ses œuvres ne fut introduite dans les 13 livres de motets publiés par Attaingnant aussitôt après, en 1534-35. On rappellera enfin ce passage significatif du sonnet écrit par Baïf « sur la musique de Janequin » :

> Soit que d'accords pesants les motets il compose
> Soit que représenter les vacarmes il ose...

Après 1538 Janequin disparait, semble-t-il, des archives angevines. Il y resta cependant encore une dizaine d'années, que ce soit dans la ville même ou dans la région. J. Levron assure qu'à partir de 1537 il quitta la maîtrise de la psallette, mais qu'il en resta membre. Dans le dernier acte découvert à Angers — 15 janvier 1538 — il est en tout cas toujours curé d'Avrillé. Après cette date tout devient à nouveau obscur jusqu'en août 1548, où un document notarié parisien nous présente Janequin comme « curé d'Ungverre, estudiant en l'Université d'Angers » et résidant provisoirement à Paris sans domicile fixe dans cette ville (Document **1**). Comme on le verra d'après les textes publiés à la suite de cette étude, il déclinera cette qualité jusqu'en mai 1549. En août de la même année, il se dit seulement curé d'Unverre et en octobre il est établi à Paris.

Ce titre d'étudiant pourra paraître invraisemblable pour un homme qui devait avoir ou approcher de bien près la cinquantaine. C'est cependant un cas qui était assez répandu à l'époque [22]. Les plus gros bénéfices étaient de préférence réservés aux possesseurs de certains diplômes universitaires ou à ceux qui pouvaient témoigner d'une certaine scolarité. Depuis le Concordat de 1516, notamment, les curés des villes dites murées devaient être docteurs, licenciés ou bacheliers en théologie, droit civil ou canon. Par tolérance on admit ceux qui avaient pendant trois ans étudié la théologie ou acquis le degré de maître ès-arts dans une Université réputée [23]. Il faut croire que pendant sa jeunesse Janequin avait négligé cette formalité et que, désireux d'obtenir enfin des revenus suffisants, peut-être aussi de faciliter son entrée à la Chapelle du roi, il s'était décidé, sous la pression de ses

[21] Nous avons réédité ce motet en 1950 aux éd. de l'Oiseau-Lyre. La messe *La Bataille* éditée chez J. Moderne en 1532 (rééditée en 1948 par H. Expert) doit se rattacher à la période bordelaise, tandis que la messe *L'aveuglé dieu* date du passage de Janequin à la Chapelle royale (*Missae duodecim*, N. Du Chemin, 1554). G. d'Alessi, *I manoscritti del sec. XVI del Duomo di Treviso*, cite dans les anciennes archives de cette église une œuvre religieuse de Janequin (*Acta musicologica*, 1931, p. 153).

[22] Nous en avons recontré plusieurs exemples en parcourant les minutiers parisiens.

[23] Jean Gérardin, *Etude sur les bénéfices ecclésiastiques aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ s.*, Nancy, 1897, p. 50.

amis et protecteurs, à s'inscrire comme « escollier ». Encore faut-il noter qu'à l'Université d'Angers on distinguait les « vere studentes » et ceux qui prenaient des inscriptions pour jouir des privilèges universitaires et participer aux fêtes [24]. A en croire les descriptions de la Légende de Pierre Faifeu, la vie des étudiants angevins n'était pas trop rebutante.

Des protecteurs de Janequin à ce moment on connait au moins François de Gondi. Mais J. Levron assure qu'après 1540 celui-ci quitte le château des Raffoux [25]. Il est probable qu'il faut placer vers cette date les « singulières affections et bonne volonté » du cardinal Jean de Lorraine, dont parle Janequin dans sa dédicace des *Inventions* de 1555. De ce prince fastueux le mécénat proprement musical est peu connu. On sait en tout cas qu'il entretint toujours des musiciens à son service. En 1520 deux de ses chantres vont à Nancy distraire le duc de Lorraine Antoine [26]. Plus tard un chantre du nom de Martin Cochoys était son « serviteur » (1546) [27]. Florent Copin, son joueur de hautbois, écrivit vers 1536-37 un « Recueil de chants royaulx, ballades et rondeaux » sur le concept de l'Immaculée Conception [28]. Son goût pour les instruments est d'autre part confirmé par la spirituelle pièce de Clément Marot, dans laquelle on voit le cardinal s'inquiéter de son joueur de flutes, Michel Huet. Enfin, en 1543, François Ier reconnaît par un don substanciel les services que lui avaient rendus les violonistes italiens entretenus par Jean de Lorraine [29].

Ce qui est certain, c'est que le cardinal n'emmena pas avec lui Janequin lorsqu'il se rendit en grande pompe à Rome, où il espérait fermement être élu pape. Car les documents notariés prouvent la présence du musicien dans la capitale française à ce moment précis. Très bien introduit auprès du roi et de la Cour, il est possible que le prélat ait tenté quelques démarches « de bonne volonté », comme dit Janequin dans la dédicace au duc, pour le faire entrer à la Musique du roi. Quoi qu'il en soit, ces tentatives ne devaient aboutir qu'après sa mort.

PARIS

Les mois qui précédèrent directement l'installation de Janequin à Paris nous présentent le compositeur aux prises avec d'obscures

[24] L. de Lens, *Université d'Angers du XVe s. à la Révol. franç.* T. I, 1880, p. 32, 112, 132.

[25] Le rapport de parenté de ce seigneur avec la grande famille des Gondi reste à établir. On notera simplement ici qu'en 1569 Pierre de Gondi est abbé commendataire de St-Aubin d'Angers.

[26] A. Jacquot, *La musique en Lorraine*, Paris, 1882, p. 43.

[27] Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 12.068.

[28] Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 530.

[29] *Catal. des actes de Francois Ier*, t. VII, 1896, p. 586, n. 27265.

affaires et des procès, qui confirment une fois encore les soucis d'argent qui, depuis Bordeaux, n'avaient cessé de le poursuivre. A la fin de l'année 1547, François Regnault (probablement le fils de sa sœur Catherine), établi « marchand et bourgeois de Paris » [30], lui avait prêté la somme assez considérable de 42 livres tournois, dont faisait foi une cédulle signée le 26 novembre par le compositeur. Moins d'un an plus tard, le 18 août, pressé de rembourser cet argent, Janequin dut céder à son neveu les bénéfices de sa cure d'Unverre, à percevoir sur son vicaire et gérant François Loriot (Document **1**). Les prêts continuèrent au point qu'en mai 1549 Janequin tentait de rembourser 20 écus d'or soleil, en déclarant que cette somme ne représentait qu'une partie de ses dettes envers François Regnault. Mais le vicaire d'Unverre avait fait des difficultés et son curé contraint de le chasser et de lui faire un procès. Le 12 mai, trois jours seulement avant de mettre la dernière main à son *Premier livre* de psaumes, le musicien confie précisément à son neveu le soin de récupérer les 20 écus qu'un arrêt du Parlement avait contraint Loriot à payer (Document **2**). Cet arrêt fut l'origine d'un nouveau procès qui, deux ans plus tard, mettait toujours aux prises Regnault et Loriot [31].

Par la suite, Janequin paraît procéder en quelque sorte à la liquidation de ses rapports familiaux, ce que son testament confirmera plus tard. Le 3 août, il révoque toutes les procurations précédemment faites, y compris celles qu'il avait délivrées à François Regnault (Document **3**). A ce moment il a définitivement quitté l'Université d'Angers et ne réside pas encore habituellement dans la capitale, comme l'indique la formule « estant de présent a Paris ». Peut-être, après le renvoi de son vicaire, habite-il alors à Unverre même, ce qui lui permet de plus fréquents déplacements à Paris, notamment le 20 août pour conclure l'acte de donation à sa petite-nièce Nicole Regnault. C'était là sans doute un moyen de s'acquitter définitivement envers son neveu [32].

A peine inscrit à l'Université de Paris (septembre 1549) et après avoir résigné la cure d'Unverre, Janequin s'occupe d'un nouveau procès : le 17 octobre, il désigne son procureur, Nicole Sanguin, pour faire opposition à une réclamation de dettes et plaider l'incompétence du prévôt de Paris, auteur de la sentence (Document **4**). On

[30] Un acte du 23 juin 1551 le dit « escuier » : Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 38.
[31] Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 38 (23 juin 1551).
[32] Il ne semble pas que Janequin soit demeuré curé d'Unverre jusqu'en 1556, comme l'indique J. Beauhaire, *Dioc. de Chartres. Chronologie des évêques, des curés, des vicaires...*, 1892, p. 352, sans indiquer ses sources. Le même (p. 353) donne Loriot comme vicaire seulement en 1558. On notera enfin au sujet d'Unverre que résidait dans la paroisse Jacques de Foucault, sieur de La Porte, client du même notaire parisien que Clément Janequin (Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 36).

peut se demander, en effet, quels pouvaient être à ce moment ses moyens de subsistance. Dans la dédicace « Au lecteur » du *Premier livre* de psaumes, il parlait bien de ses « meilleurs amys... qui me peuvent commander et qeu je ne puis bonnement esconduire ». L'un d'eux — une ancienne relation bordelaise — lui avait probablement procuré le bénéfice d'une petite cure située à l'extrémité Sud du diocèse de Bordeaux, Saint-Jean de Mezos. Mais il la résignait au début de l'année 1550 entre les mains de Philippe Chemynart (Document **5**) [33].

Si l'on veut tenter de reconstituer le milieu dans lequel vit Janequin à Paris, on doit, outre l'Université, s'adresser au monde des imprimeurs de musique. En étudiant les concordances littéraires des chansons de Janequin parues dans la grande série de P. Attaingnant, on ne manque pas d'être frappé par un fait : ce n'est qu'avec un très petit nombre de compositeurs que se produisent ces concordances [34]. A savoir : P. Symon (9), Pierre Certon (14) et surtout Etienne Du Tertre (22). A quelques mois d'intervalle, autour des années 1549-50, on rencontre dans les recueils d'Attaingnant les mêmes textes littéraires, accompagnés de thèmes musicaux différents, ce qui écarte l'hypothèse des *voix de ville*. Comme si une amicale rivalité, quelque intimité de travail ou de milieu liait ces trois compositeurs apparemment parisiens. Sur P. Symon on ne sait encore rien. Etienne Du Tertre était organiste à Paris en 1556, ainsi qu'il ressort d'un acte d'état-civil, qui le montre en rapport avec le luthiste allemand Grégoire Brayssing [35]. Quant à Pierre Certon, installé à la Sainte-Chapelle depuis de nombreuses années, c'était un familier des éditeurs de la rue de la Harpe [36].

Après 1549-50, l'imprimeur Nicolas Du Chemin monopolisa pendant quelques années la production parisienne de chansons. Goudimel venait de succéder à Nicole Regnes comme correcteur et conseiller artistique de sa maison d'édition. Etudiant, lui aussi, à l'Université, il eut évidemment de fréquentes relations avec Janequin, dont il publia une quarantaine de chansons entre 1549 et 1554 dans les premiers livres de chansons de la maison du *Gryphon d'argent* [37].

[33] Je n'ai pu établir à partir de quelle date Janequin détient la cure de St-Jean de Mezos. Les Archives de la Gironde, en effet, ne contiennent rien sur cette paroisse avant 1569 (G 726).

[34] Ces concordances sont particulièrement apparentes dans les 28e, 30e, 31e et 32e livres d'Attaingnant. Dans la bibliographie qui suit cet article nous n'avons pu mentionner que les auteurs (on les recueils) qui ont précédé Janequin dans l'utilisation de ces textes et non ceux qui s'en sont servi après lui. Les chiffres donnés ici sont, au contraire, la somme des deux concordances.

[35] Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 12.100. Cf. sur lui *MGG*, fasc. 11, 1952.

[36] *Pierre Attaingnant. Notes et documents*, dans *Musica Disciplina*, vol. III, fasc. 1, 1949, p. 35-36.

[37] *Claude Goudimel, étudiant, correcteur et éditeur parisien*, dans *Musica Disciplina*, vol. II, fasc. 3-4, 1948, p. 225-230.

A côté de Du Tertre, assez largement représenté, on retrouve à un degré beaucoup moindre, P. Certon, dont l'étoile paraît en baisse. En 1552, Goudimel fait appel pour la première fois à l'humaniste Marc-Antoine Muret. Aussi peut-on expliquer facilement la constitution du petit groupe — Janequin, Goudimel, Muret et Certon — qui s'assemble en septembre 1552 pour accéder au désir de Ronsard et se partager l'illustration musicale d'un genre nouveau que tentait le poète avec *Les Amours* [38].

Une des dernières initiatives de Goudimel avant la rupture de son association avec Du Chemin fut l'impression du *Caquet des femmes* (22 juin 1555), des deux livres d'*Inventions musicales* (13 juillet et 25 août) et de *La Venerie autrement dit la Chasse* (18 septembre), le tout « nouvellement revu et corrigé » par l'auteur « outre les précédentes impressions » [39].

* * *

A la même époque Janequin obtenait enfin le poste auquel il avait rêvé depuis tant d'années et vers lequel la partie la plus spectaculaire de son œuvre semblait tendre : celui de musicien du roi. Le 28 septembre 1555, il décline en effet devant le notaire Cothereau la qualité de « chantre ordinaire de la Chapelle du roi ». Il louait ce jour-là une petite maison à Saint-Germain-des-Prés, juste derrière la célèbre foire St-Germain, « en la petite ruelle Neufve St-Sulpice » [40]. La propriétaire, Jehanne Fleury, lui demandait 48 livres tournois de loyer annuel, en lui accordant également la jouissance de tout un mobilier, matériel de cuisine et linge, dont l'acte donne le pittoresque défilé et dont eut à se servir, non pas le compositeur lui-même, mais la domestique qu'il avait à son service depuis quelques mois, Barbe de Pleuve (Document **6**).

Il y a alors un curieux contraste entre la situation matérielle de l'artiste, telle qu'elle apparaît à la lecture de cet acte, et sa célébrité, qui à ce moment précis, culmine. On a déjà vu tout ce que N. Du Chemin, en cette année 1555, avait publié. Or, de cette époque de la production de Janequin, il nous manque encore deux volumes, imprimés par Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard : la « Chasse », dont le succès, décidément, rebondissait, et un livre de chansons « à 2 et

[38] G. Thibault et L. Perceau, *Bibliographie des poésies de P. de Ronsard mises en musique au XVI^e s.*, Paris, 1941, p. 15-18.

[39] Une partie de *bassus* de ces quatre recueils est conservée à la bibl. du Musée Dobrée de Nantes. En septembre 1551 Du Chemin avait déjà consacré aux grandes chansons imitatives de Janequin tout le *Cinquiesme livre du recueil.*

[40] Un acte du 18 décembre 1550, passé par la même Jeanne Fleury, précise l'emplacement de cette maison « en la petite rue Neufve Sainct-Supplice et derriere le cymetiere St-Supplice... » (Min. centr., C, 36).

trio ». C'est en effet une lacune que l'on découvre en parcourant les registres de l'imprimeur anversois Plantin : « 1555-1581. Libri a variis impressoribus editi... Index librorum musices Parisiis ab Adriano Le Roy impressorum » [41].

Musicien de Henri II, Janequin s'était efforcé de s'assurer aussi de la protection de François de Guise, en chantant ses succès militaires et en justifiant ainsi le titre de « chapelain » que lui avait accordé le maître du moment. C'était, au fonds, son métier, comme c'était celui de Ronsard de célébrer les événements marquants par des poèmes de circonstance. Fort habilement, l'éditeur Robert Ballard avait dérogé à sa spécialité en imprimant pour le duc *Le siège et prise de Thionville* en 1558 [42]. A dire vrai, le mécénat de François de Guise ne ressemblait en rien à celui de son oncle : héritier des biens fabuleux du cardinal Jean, il se croyait cependant tenu à encourager les artistes. Si la consultation des comptes assez considérables laissés par sa Maison montre un homme au goût artistique peu développé, on sait qu'il entretint à son service un corps de musiciens : Jehan de Vaux, Claude Gobert et Lancelot Pénicault étaient ses chantres en 1551, Antoine Lanys son violoniste, Antoine Martin luthiste (1557) et Jean Chevanes organiste en 1561 [43].

* * *

Janequin dut quitter Saint-Germain-des-Prés à expiration du bail de Jehanne Fleury. Il s'installa alors, toujours accompagné de Barbe de Pleuve, en plein cœur du Quartier Latin, rue de la Sorbonne. C'est le moment où il eut la suprême satisfaction de recevoir le titre de « compositeur ordinaire » du roi, qui, pour la première fois, semble-t-il, dans l'histoire de la Cour française, était accordée à un musicien. Il est difficile de dire s'il fut attaché à la Chambre ou à la Chapelle d'Henri II. On connaît pour le XVI[e] s. trois compositeurs de la Chapelle : Pierre Certon (1570) Nicolas Millot (1578-79) et Didier Leschenet (1578-85) [44], qui ont pu être ses successeurs directs. Avant Claude Le Jeune, on ne connaît aucun musicien qui ait porté le

[41] J. A. Stellfeld, dans le *Vlaamsch Jarboek voor Musiekgeschiedenis*, 2[e]-3[e] livraison, 1940-41, p. 25. La date de ce recueil perdu peut être fixée entre 1555 et 1559.

[42] Bibl. nat., Lb[31] 79. Seul ouvrage connu où le nom d'Adrian le Roy ne figure pas sur le titre à côté de celui de son cousin et associé.

[43] Bibl. nat., ms. fr. 22429, fol. 132 et 146 v° ; fr. 22433, fol. 113 v° et 168 v°. Pénicault était en 1540 au service du duc d'Orléans, fils de Francois I[er] (Bibl. Ste Geneviève, ms. 848, fol. 125) et en 1559 sera basse-contre de la Chambre du roi (Arch. nat., KK 129, fol. 46 v°).

[44] Certon porte ce titre dans les *Meslanges* de N. du Chemin. Leschenet dans Arch. nat., Min. centr., LVII, 1 à 3, et, avec Millot, dans Bibl. nat., 500 Colbert 54, fol. 363.

titre de compositeur de la Chambre, et, de toutes manières, ces charges ne figurent pas sur les Comptes du XVI^e s. avant 1570.

Les deux institutions étaient, dans tous les cas, assez brillantes au moment du séjour de Janequin. A la Chambre on trouvait au moins trois compositeurs : Jacques Arcadelt, dont la popularité commençait à ébranler sérieusement celle des musiciens de la génération précédente et qui, comme Janequin, publiait en 1559 un volume de psaumes dans la traduction de Marot [45] ; Pierre du Camp Guillebert, qui signe ses compositions du pseudonyme de Pierre Dauxerre, est valet de Chambre du roi depuis 1552 en qualité de joueur de viole [46] ; Guillaume Belin, sous-maître de la Chapelle, fait en même temps office de chantre à la Chambre [47]. Une dizaine de chansons de lui paraissent, en même temps que d'autres signées d'Arcadelt et de Dauxerre dans les recueils d'Attaingnant et Du Chemin.

Rue de la Sorbonne, Janequin achève sa « povre vieillesse » en composant son testament musical, les *Octante deux pseaumes de David*, écrits en « accords non usités » et qui nous est malheureusement parvenu incomplet. Le livre est dédié à la reine par une pièce de vers, qui a déjà été publiée. C'est à ce moment peut-être qu'apparaît le plus clairement la cruauté de la situation matérielle du compositeur. Edité de son vivant à Paris, Lyon, Venise, Anvers, Nuremberg, Ferrare, Rome, il parvient à la plus haute charge musicale du royaume, après une carrière dénuée de brillant, sans même pouvoir jouir des avantages pécuniaires que ce poste aurait normalement dû lui procurer. A ce moment, en effet, la grave crise économique et financière qui atteint une partie de l'Europe et les guerres épuisantes menées contre Charles-Quint, puis Philippe II, ont vidé les caisses du roi. Des retranchements sévères sont effectués dans les *Estats* de sa Maison, retranchements dont Janequin fut l'une des premières victimes.

Au mois de janvier 1558, il tombe malade. Sa fidèle servante, qui n'a pas touché un sol de son maître depuis plus de deux ans, va chercher le notaire Chappelain, auquel le musicien dicte ses dernières volontés ;

« Fut présent vénérable et discrette personne M^e Clément Jannequin prebtre, compositeur ordinaire en musique pour le Roy notre Sire, demeurant à Paris, rue de Sorbonne, gisant au lit malade, toutteffoys sain de pensée, mémoire, et entendement ainsi qu'il a dit et qu'il est aparu aux notaires soubsignez par ses parolles et maintien, lequel considérant que briefz sont les jours de toute créature humaine, qu'il n'est rien de plus certain que la mort et moins incertain que le jour et l'heure d'icelle ; ne voulant decedder de ce monde en l'autre intestat mais, pendant qu'il

[45] *Revue de musicologie*, juillet 1951, p. 53-54.
[46] Arch. nat., KK 129, fol. XLVI v° ; Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, E suppl.
[47] Arch. nat., KK 129, fol. XLVI v° ; Min. centr., XVII (29 juin 1559).

plait à Dieu luy donner sens, jugement et discrétion, disposer au salut de son ame de ce qu'il a pleu à son Saulveur luy prester et donner pour son usage en ce mortel monde tous bons chrétiens doyvent et sont tenuz à ces causes et autres bonnes considérations, ad ce le mouvant de son bon grié feyre et fist son testament et ordonnances des dernières volontés. Au nom de Dieu le Père, Filz et Benoist St Esprit. Amen.

En la forme et manieres il s'ensuit premièrement, comme bon chrétien recommanda et recommande son ame à Dieu le Créateur, Saulveur et Redempteur, le suppliant et requérant tres humblement que, par le mérite de la mort et Passion de Notre Saulveur et Rédempteur Jésus-Christ, Il luy plaise remettre et pardonner ses offences et piéchez, priant aussy et requérant la Benoiste et Glorieuse Vierge Marye et aultres les benoist saints et saintes du paradis de prier pour luy ad ce que sa pauvre ame soyt receue au nombre des bienheureux en gloire au Royaulme céleste du paradis.

Item faist son testament de vingt solz pour estre distribuez en la manière accoustumée.

Item veult et ordonne toutes ses debtes qui appayront estre loyaulement deues au jour de son décez estre payéez, et ses torts faitz réparez et admendez par son exécuteur cy-après nommé.

Item quant a son enterrement et convoy, luminaire, services, obseques et funérailles il s'en est en tout remys et rapporté a la discrétion et bonne volonté de sondit exécuteur.

Item donne à Barbe de Pleuve, sa servante, tout et chacun les habillements qu'il aura lors de son décez a luy appartenant, ad ce oultre ses salaires et services qu'il veult luy estre payiez au prix de douze livres tournois par an et déclare qu'il y a deux ans et demy que elle est avec luy a le servir et qu'elle n'a receu aucune chose pour ses services, et partant veult et ordonne qu'elle en soyt entierement payiée.

Item aussy donne et legue à Thibaulde Guybert, fille de ladite Barbe, la somme de quarante solz pour une foys.

Item déclare ledit testateur qu'il luy est deu quelques deuniés tant par le Roy notre Sire a cause de ses gaiges de compositeur ordinaire que aussy par autres personnes. Tout lesquelz deniers son présent testament accompli, son testateur veulz et ordonne que maitre Mathurin Le Beau, son exécuteur ci-apres nommé, les donne et emploie en aulmosnes pour Dieu, ainsi qu'il verra bon estre a faire en sa conscience.

Item pour l'accomplissement du présent testament a nommant et nommé pour son exécuteur ledit maitre Mathurin Lebeau, procureur en Parlement, auquel seul et pour le tout, ledit testateur a donné et donne plein pouvoir de icelui testament accomplir de point en point selon sa forme et teneur, es mains duquel un exécuteur testamentaire dessaisy de tous ses biens etc., voulant, révocant tous autres testaments et codicilles qu'il pourrait avoir par ci-devant faitz etc.

Ce fu fait et passé l'an mille V^{c} cinquante sept, le mardy XVIII^{e} jour de janvier » [48].

[48] Arch. nat., Min. centr., LXXIII, 51.

Émouvant document, dont le formalisme juridique et religieux s'harmonise parfaitement avec le contenu réel. On y remarque évidemment l'absence de toute mention relative à son frère Simon, à son neveu et à sa nièce. Si, d'autre part, il est difficile de savoir ce que pouvait être pour lui Mathurin Lebeau, son exécuteur testamentaire, on peut avancer au moins deux raisons pour lesquelles Janequin put se trouver en rapport avec ce procureur au Parlement. Celui-ci, dès 1540, s'occupe d'un clerc du diocèse d'Angers, Jean Cureau, étudiant à l'Université, auquel il promet d'apprendre son métier [49]. Deux ans plus tard, il représente chez un notaire parisien son parent Michel, chanoine de Saint-Pierre d'Angers [50]. On se rappellera enfin que c'est à un Guillaume Lebeau que Janequin résigna la cure d'Unverre. Mais, même sans cet argument supplémentaire, il est hors de doute que Janequin voulait remercier un homme qui lui avait rendu de multiples services, probablement même avant son installation à Paris. Il y avait encore une autre raison, pour nous beaucoup plus intéressante. Mathurin Lebeau était intimement lié avec la famille de Pierre Attaingnant. Sa femme, le 16 septembre 1542, tint en effet sur les fonts baptismaux une fille d'Hubert Jullet, en compagnie de Pierre Certon [51]. Ce qui permet d'imaginer tout un petit cercle groupé, une fois encore, autour d'un des grands éditeurs parisiens.

Après 1559 aucun recueil parisien ne contient d'œuvre nouvelle de Janequin. A la suite du premier livre du *Verger de musique*, dont les éditeurs annonçaient qu'il avait été revu et corrigé par l'auteur, aucun second livre ne suivit. Tout au plus note-t-on dans le *Premier livre de chansons spirituelles* de l'imprimeur lyonnais Th. de Straton (1561) deux psaumes de Janequin. Mais il est évident que les chansons parues en 1569 et 1578 et que nous ne connaissons pas par des éditions antérieures (voir bibliographie) ne sont que des rééditions empruntées à des recueils aujoud'hui perdus. C'est la raison pour laquelle on peut penser que la vie du musicien ne dépasse pas 1560. Disparition qui passa inaperçue, puisqu'aucun tombeau musical, aucun hommage poétique ne semble être venu saluer un homme dont la musique avait fait le tour de l'Europe et qui, de nos jours, reste, à tort ou à raison, comme le symbole d'un demi-siècle de musique française.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Département de la musique.

[49] Ibid., XLIX, 13 (17 août).
[50] E. Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés...*, t. I, n° 1816.
[51] *P. Attaingnant. Notes et documents*, dans *Musica Disciplina*, vol. III, 1949, p. 36.

APPENDICE

I. — Documents justificatifs.

1. 1548, 18 août. — «Noble et discrete personne maistre Clément Jehannequin, curé d'Ungverre, estudiant en l'Université d'Angers, estant de présent en ceste ville de Paris, confesse avoir ceddé et transporté et promect garantir a honorable homme Françoys Regnault, bourgeois de Paris, a ce présent et acceptant la somme de quarante-deux livres huit solz t., a prendre sur les premiers et plus clers deniers qui sont et seront a icelluy Jehannequin par maistre Françoys Loriot, prebtre, son fermier et vicaire en lad. cure d'Unverre, a cause de la ferme d'icelle cure, de laquelle somme de quarante-deux livres huit solz t. led. Jehannequin faict led. Regnault vray acteur, procureur, pourchasseur, recepveur et quicteur et le mect et subroge du tout en son lieu et droit. Cestz cession et transport faictz pour demeurer par led. Jehannequin quicte envers led. Regnault, qui l'a quicté et quicte par ces présentes de pareille somme de quarante-deux livres huit solz t. qu'il doit aud. Regnault par sa cedulle dattée du vingt sixiesme jour de novembre mil cinq cens quarante sept, qu'il a cogneu et confessé avoir signée et devoir loyaulment, laquelle cedulle est demeurée en la possession dud. Regnault jusques au parfaict payment de lad. somme et ou led. Regnault ne pourroit estre payé d'icelle somme apres ung simple adjournement et signiffication de ces présentes faicte aud. Loriot, oud. cas icelluy ceddant promect et gaige rendre et payer aud. Regnault ou au porteur lad. somme de quarante-deux livres huit solz t. en ceste ville de Paris a volunté. ... Faict et passé l'an mil cinq cens quarante huit, le sabmedy dix-huitiesme jour d'aoust.

Jamart Cothereau ».
(Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 29)

2. 1549, 12 mai. — Vénérable et discrete personne maitre Clément Jehannequin, prebtre, curé d'Unverre, diocese de Chartres, escollier, étudiant en l'Université d'Angers et estant de présent en ceste ville de Paris pour la sollicitation de ses proces et afferes, confesse avoir ceddé et transporté et promet garantir etc. ... à honorable homme Françoys Regnauld, marchant demeurant a Paris, son nepveu, a ce présent acceptant la somme de vingt escus d'or soleil a prendre sur les premiers et plus clairs deniers audit ceddant, adjugez par arrest de la Court de Parlement[52] a l'encontre de maitre Françoys Loriot, prebtre, demeurant audit lieu d'Unverre et nagueres vicaire dudit ceddant en ladite cure et de laquelle somme de vingt escuz d'or soleil ledit Jehannequin faict ledit Regnauld vray acteur etc. ... ceste cession et transport faictz pour demeurer par ledit Jehannequin quicte envers ledit Regnauld de pareille somme de vingt escus d'or soleil aulmoing de plus grande somme qu'il doibt audit Regnauld par obligation et ceddulle. Si comme etc. ... dont etc. ..., quictant

[52] Nous n'avons pu retrouver aux Archives nationales le texte de cet arrêt.

etc. ..., et ce ledit Regnauld ne pouroit estre payé desdits XX escus soleil dudit Loriot apres ung simple adjournement a lui faict ; en ce cas, ledit Jehannequin promet et gage rendre et payer ladite somme de vingt escus soleil audit Regnauld aux termes contenus esdites cedulles et obligations, promectant etc. ..., obligeant etc. ..., renoncant etc. ... Faict et passé l'an mil cinq cens quarante neuf, le dimanche douzieme jour de may.

LENORMANT COTHEREAU

(Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 32)

3. 1549, 3 août. — Aujourd'huy, en la présence des notaires soubzcriptz, vénérable et discrete personne, maitre Clément Jehannequin, prebtre, curé d'Unverre, diocese de Chartres, estant de présent à Paris, a déclaré et déclare qu'il a révocqué et révocque toutes et chacunes les procurations par cy-devant par ledit Jehannequin passées, tant à Françoys Regnauld que autres ; ensemble povoir qui leur a doné par icelles a ce que par cy-apres lesdites personnes n'ayent à eulx mesler, met, entremect les proces, négoces et affaires, ledit Jehannequin protestant par luy ou ilz feroient cy-apres le contraire de l'impugnier et débatre et nullité et de tous despens, dommages et interestz et de tout ce que faict et proteste en ceste partie, dont et desquelles choses ledit Jehannequin a requis lettres qu'il veut estre signifiées. Faict et octroyé l'an mil cinq cens quarante neuf, le mardy trois jour d'aoust.

ROGER COTHEREAU

(Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 32)

4. 1549, 17 octobre. — Maitre Clément Jannequin, prebtre, escollier, estudiant en l'Université de Paris, en son nom faict et constitue son procureur, maitre Nicole Sangin, procureur au Chastelet de Paris pour plaider etc. ..., opposer etc. ..., appeler etc. ..., eslire domicille, substituer et par espécial pour porter par devant monseigneur le prévost de Paris ou son lieutenant civil que sur l'adjournement à luy fet à la requeste de Nicolas Charlot, le seziesme jour de septembre dernier passé, montant XI livres douze solz ung denier tournois, qu'il n'est tenu de prenddre sur ce qu'il est prebtre, personne ecclésiasticque, et ou ledit prévost de Paris en vouldra prendre la Court, jurisdiction et cognoissance soy déclaré, transporté, pour appelant comme juge incompétant et néanmoins sans préjudice de ladite fin de non procedder ledit constituant donner povoir et possession audit Sangin, son procureur, de confesser ledit récépissé estre escript et signé de sa main et seing manuel et générallement promectant etc. ..., obligeant etc. ... Faict et passé l'an mil cinq cens quarante neuf, le jeudi dix septieme jour d'octobre.

LENORMANT COTHEREAU

(Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 33)

5. 1550, 1er février (nouv. st.). — Vénérable et discrete personne, maitre Clément Jehannequin, curé de Saint-Jehan de Mezos, diocese de Bordeaulx, fait constituer ses procureurs maitres Briant Perrault[...] de chacun d'eulx pour consentir que noble et discrete personne, maitre

Philippe Chemynart qui est pourvu de ladite cure par la résignation que ledit constituant luy en a par cy-devant faicte soyt subrogé partout ou il apartiendra au lieu dudit constituant en icelle cure ; ensamble prengne et persoive les fruicts, prouffitz, revenuz et esmolumens d'icelle cure et qu'il soit maintenu et gardé en possession, saysine de ladite cure, tant a l'encontre de maitres Adryen du Moulinet et Jehan Saillant que autres et de consentir que ledit Chemynard ou ses procureurs pour luy prengnent et recoivent les fruictz de ladite cure de Mezos, tant du passé que de l'advenir plaider etc. ..., opposer etc. ..., appeler etc. ..., eslire domicille etc. ... substituer etc. ..., et générallement etc. ..., promectant etc. ..., obligeant... Faict et passé l'an mil cinq cens quarante neuf, le samedi premier jour de febvrier.

LENORMANT COTHEREAU

(Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 34)

6. 1555, 28 septembre. — Honnorable femme Jehanne Fleury, demourant a Saint-Germain des Prez les Paris, confesse avoir baillé a tiltre de loyer du jour Saint Remy prochain venant jusques a ung an lors prochain ensuyvant finy et promet garantir et faire joyr durant led. temps a maitre Clément Jehannequin, chantre ordinaire de la Chappelle du Roy a Paris, a ce présent prendre aud. tiltre pour led. nom pour oultre led. temps d'icelluy une maison, court... estable..., assis aud. Saint-Germain des Prez lez Paris de deriere la foire Saint Germain en la petite ruelle Neufve St-Sulpice a lad. bailleresse apartenant, ensemble luy bailler douze serviettes, six draps de thoille de chanvre, quatres nappes dont deux ouvrées et les aultres a plainnes, ung matelas et tout de fusteme et ung lit et traversin garny de plumme, une couverture de serge viollet picquée de thoille de lin, ung paillasse de grosse thoille et ung pavillon de serge viollette, ung banc a couche de boys de chesne, une table de boys de noyer garnye de ses deux esteaulx a pilliers tournez de boys de poiryer, quatre escabelles de boys de noyer, une poisle de fer a fricasser, une broche et une lechefritte et ung gril, une cramaillere, six assiettes d'estaing, demye douzaine d'escuelles, deux platz, une salliere, deux potz d'estaing, tous lesquelz meubles lad. bailleresse asseure a elle apartenir et iceulx meubles led. preneur asseure avoir en sa possession pour en joyr en cestz bail et prinse faictz a la charge que led. preneur sera tenu payer la moictyée des fortifficacions a laquelle lad. maison sera noctifiée sans diminution du loyer cy-apres déclaré ; et oultre moyennant et pour la somme de quarante huit livres t. que de loyer... led. preneur en promet et gaige rendre et payer a lad. bailleresse ou au porteur aux quatre termes en l'an a Paris acoustumez, premier terme prochain escheant au jour de Noel prochain venant et ainsi continuer.

Et lesquelz meubles led. preneur sera tenu rendre a lad. bailleresse en aussi bon estat et valleur qu'ilz sont de présent, sauf l'usure raisonnable. Sur lequel loyer led. preneur a promis, baille et paie a lad. bailleresse ce que de luy confesse avoir eu et receu quarante solz t. et se promet advanser a lad. bailleresse au jour St-Martin d'iver prochain venant la somme de deux livres t., lesquelles deux sommes de XL s. t. et dix livres t. seront desduites et rabatues sur led. terme de Noel prochain.

Et laquelle maison led. preneur sera tenu gaiger de biens meubles exploitables, oultre que ceux cy-dessus déclarez pour la seureté dud. loyer de icelle entretenu de menues réparacions durant led. temps sans diminution dud. loyer et lad. bailleresse le tiendra cloz et couvers aux us et coutumes de Paris ...

Fait et passé double l'an mil Vc cinquante V, le XXVIII[e] jour de septembre.

JAMART COTHEREAU

(Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 54)

II. — BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES CHANSONS DE JANEQUIN [53].

La liste qui suit donne l'incipit de chaque chanson avec la date de première édition. Il a été impossible de tenir compte des rééditions. Chaque fois que les renseignements donnés par la *Bibliogr. der Sammelwerke* de R. Eitner restaient valables, on s'est contenté de renvoyer à cet ouvrage, en rectifiant parfois la date réelle en « nouveau style ». On trouvera donc la date de première édition, soit dans la seconde, soit dans la troisième colonne. Les dates données dans les concordances littéraires renvoient également à Eitner.

Liste des abréviations :

Att. *Ch.: Chansons de maistre Clement Ja-|nequin nouvellement et correctement imprimeez a Paris par Pierre| Attaingnant...*(Bibl. nat. et Bibl. de Versailles. Recueil daté 1528 d'après M. Cauchie, *Revue de musicologie*, mai 1924, p. 75).

Att. *Ch. nouv.: Chansons nouvelles en musique | A quatre parties: nagueres imprimees a Paris par Pierre Attaingnant libraire.... 4 aprilis 1527* (Bibl. de Versailles et de La Haye. Cf. description par M. Cauchie, *art. cité*, pp. 72-75).

Att. *l. 1[er]: Livre premier contenant XXIX chansons a quatre par- | ties le tout en ung livre imprimees par Pierre Attaingnant|... Mense januario M.D.XXXV.* (Bibl. Mazarine).

Att. *2[e] l.: Second livre contenant XXV. chansons nouvelles a quatre | parties le tout en ung livre imprimeez par Pierre Attaingnant|... Mense aprili M.D.XXXVI.* (Bibl. Mazarine).

Att. *24 ch.: Vingt et quatre chansons musicales a | quatre parties composees par maistre Clement Jennequin | et imprimees a Paris*

[53] Pour l'établissement de cette bibliographie, j'ai reçu l'aide de G. Thibault, H. Halm (Munich), L. Nowak (Vienne) et G. Turrini (Verona), que je remercie ici de leur grande obligeance.

en la rue de la Harpe prez sainct | Cosme | par Pierre Attaingnant. | Mense April. M. D. XXXIII. (Bibl. de Munich et Wernigorode).

Att. *30 ch.:* Eitner, 1533[c].

Att. *31 ch.: Trente et une chanson musicales | a quatre parties nouvellement imprimees a Paris par Pierre Attain-|gnant...|1529* (le *tenor* est daté des calendes de novembre. Recueil réédité en 1897 par H. Expert dans « Les maitres musiciens de la Renaissance française »).

Att. *34 ch.:* Eitner, 1529[f].

Att. *36 ch.:* Eitner, 1530.

Att. *42 ch.: Quarante et deux chansons musicales | a troys parties nouvellement et correctement imprimees a Paris le | XXII jour d'apvril 1529 par Pierre Attaingnant...* (Paris, Bibl. nat.).

Bayeux : *Le manuscrit de Bayeux,* éd. Th. Gérold, 1921.

Cauchie :

— *Cl. Janequin. Deux chansons pour choeur mixte à cinq voix,* Paris, Rouart, 1924 (« Le Caquet des femmes » et « La Jalouzie »).

— *Trente chansons à trois et quatre voix de Cl. Janequin,* Paris, Rouart, 1928.

Ch. à troys : voir p. 158

D. F. : Discophiles français. 14 chansons de Cl. Janequin enregistrées par l'Ensemble vocal Marcel Couraud, 1947. (Nous avons mentionné seulement ces enregistrements lorsqu'il n'y avait pas d'édition moderne).

Du Ch. *1[er] l.: Premier livre de chan-|sons nouvellement mises en | musique par bons, et excellents autheurs... 1557* (Londres, Brit. Museum : *bassus*).

Du Ch. *12[e] l.: Douziesme livre, conte-|nant XXV chansons nouvelles à quatre parties en deux | volumes, composees de plusieurs autheurs...* (Paris, Bibl. G. Thibault : *contra* et *bassus*).

Du Ch., *Inv. 2: Second livre des Inventions musicales | de M[e] Clement Janequin...| Le tout a quatre parties, nouvellement revu et corrigé, | et imprimé a Paris le 25 d'aoust 1555 | De l'imprimerie de Nicolas du Chemin...* (Nantes, Bibl. du Musée Dobrée : *bassus*).

Eitner : *60 chansons zu vier Stimmen* (t. XXIII des Publikation aelterer, Praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke, 1899).

Expert :

— *Florilège du Concert vocal de la Renaissance...,* Paris, 1928 (N. I : Janequin).

— « Les maîtres musiciens de la Renaissance française », 5[e] et 7[e] livraisons, 1897 et 1898.

— *Concerts du XVI[e] s. ... à 2, 3 et 4 voix,* Paris, Salabert, 1938.

Festa, *l. 1°* : *Libro primo de madrigali a tre voci... Aggiuntovi similmente trenta canzoni francese di Janequin,* A. Gardane, 1541 (Verone, Bibl. dell'Accademia filarmonica).

Fez. *1er l.: Premier livre de chansons, nouvellement | mises en musique par bons et scavantz musiciens... | De l'imprimerie de Michel Fezandat... 1556...* (Londres, Brit. Museum : *bassus*).

Fez. *2e l.: Second livre | de chansons, nouvellement | mises en musique par bons et scavantz musiciens | a quatre parties, en quatre volumes ... De l'imprimerie de Michel Fezandat... 1556* (Londres, Brit. Museum : *bassus*).

Fl. joy.: La fleur de toutes joyeusetez, sans date (vers 1530).

Fl. p. fr.: Hecatomphile. De vulgaire italien tourné en langaige françoys. Les fleurs de Poesie françoyse, Paris, G. du Pré, 1534.

Indy (V. d') : *La guerre de Renty... réalisé par V. d'Indy*, Paris, Rouart, 1916. (avec une voix imaginée).

J. de Pl: Le Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de rhétorique, éd. Droz et Piaget, Paris, 1925.

Les Am.: Les Amours de P. de Ronsard vandomoys, Paris, Veuve M. de La Porte, 1552.

LRB. *2e l. à 3: Second livre de chansons | a trois parties | Composé par plusieurs autheurs | Imprimé en trois volumes | ... M.D.LXXVIII.| Par Adrian le Roy, et Robert Ballard ...* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library : *superius*).

LRB. *6e l.: Sixiesme livre de chansons | nouvellement composées en musique à quatre parties par bons | et excellens musiciens, imprimé en quatre volumes... De l'imprimerie d'Adrian le Roy, & Robert Balard... 1556* (Paris, Bibl. nat.).

LRB. *7e l.: Septiesme livre de chansons | nouvellement composées en musique à quatre partie... 1556* (Paris, Bibl. nat. : *tenor* ; Bibl. G. Thibault : *bassus*).

LRB. *8e l.: Huitiesme livre de chansons | nouvellement composées... 1557* (Paris, Bibl. nat. : manque le *contra*).

LRB. *Verger: Verger de musique con-|tenant partie des plus excellents labeurs de M. C. Ianequin, à 4. & 5. parties | nouvellement imprimé en 5 volumes, reveuz & corrigez par luy mesme | Premier livre | ... 1559* (Paris, Bibl. G. Thibault : *contra* ; Paris, Bibl. nat. : *tenor* ; Londres, Brit. Museum : *bassus*).

Maldeghem : *Trésor musical...* (Voir la précieuse description bibliographique donnée par G. Reese, *Maldeghem and his buried treasure*, dans *Notes* , dec. 1948, nos 83 et 160)

Mod. *2e l.: Le Difficile des Chansons | Second livre contenant XXVI chansons nouvelles a qua-|tre parties en quatre livres de la composition de plusiers | Maistres. | Imprimees nouvellement à Lyon par Jacques | Moderne ...* (Bibl. d'Augsbourg ; Bibl. nat. : *altus*).

Str. *1er l.: Le | Premier | livre de | chansons | spirituelles, | mises en musique par divers Auteurs et | excellens Musiciens...*, Lyon, Th. de Straton, 1561 (Cf. R. Eitner, dans *Monatshefte f. Musikgesch.*, 1879, p. 78-80).

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
A ce joly moys de may	4		1543[h]			Eitner
Aller m'y fault sur la verdure	4		1529[f]		Willaert, 1529	
Allons fuyons, bevons	4		1533[d]			
Amour, amour tu es par trop cruelle . . .	3		1541[b]		Gombert, 1533[b] Att., 1535[b]	
Amour ayant de ma grand passion	4		1547[e]			
Amour cruel de sa nature	4	1540	1539[w]	St-Gelays		
Amour cruel, mon Dieu que ta puyssance .	4	1556	Fez., *1er l.*			
Amour et moy avons faict qu'une dame . .	4		1547[h]		Cadéac, 1542[l] *Fl. p. fr.* (1534)	
Amour me voyant sans tristesse	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1o*	Marot	Sermisy, 1533 Gosse, 1539[r]	
Amour vainc tout, c'est chose	4		1554[s]			
Assouvy suis mais sans cesser désire	4		1529[f]		*J. de Pl.* (1501)	Cauchie
Au despartir triste deuil oppresse le mien esprit	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
Au joly jeu du pousse avant	4	1529	Att., *31 ch.*			Expert
Au moins, mon Dieu, ne m'abandonne . .	4	1561	Str., *1er l.*			
Au premier jour du joly moys de may . .	4		1545[n]			Cauchie
Aupres de vous secretement demeure. . . .	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1o*		Sermisy, 1528 Jacotin, 1529[t] Gardane, 1540[g]	
Aussitost que je voy mamye	4		1549[o]		Du Tertre, 1549[l]	

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Au verd boys je m'en iray seule	4	1529	Att., *31 ch.*			Expert
Avant que partiez de ce lieu	4		1550[i]		Du Tertre, 1549[q]	
Ayés pitié du grant mal que j'endure . . .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*	Heroet		
Baisez moy tost ou je vous baiseray . . .	4		1540[n]			
Bastienne Bastienne vous aves changé[1]. . .	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1°			
Bel aubépin verdissant	4	1557	LRB., *8e l.*	Ronsard		Cauchie
Bon pastoreau, garde bien ta houlette . . .	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1°			
Branlez vos piques, soldats [Guerre de Renty]	4	1559	LRB., *Verger*			D'Indy
Ça, ces beaux yeulx, ça ceste bouche . . .	4		1549°			
Ce disoit une jeune dame	4		1549°			
Ce faux amour d'arc et de flesches	4	1556	LRB., *7e l.*			Cauchie
Celle qui m'a tant pourmené.	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1°	Marot		
Celle qui veit son mari	4	1540	1539[w]			
Ce may nous dit la verdure	4		1552[a]			
Ce moys de may ma verte cotte	4	1529	Att., *31 ch.*			Expert
Ce n'est pas moy, c'est vous madame . .	4	1556	LRB., *6e l.*		Villiers, 1538[l] Busnois (fr. 15123)	
Ce n'est point mon oeil	4		1550[h]			
Cent baysers au despartir, bouchette friande	4		1549[r]			
Cent mille foys estant dedans ma couche .	4		1549[q]			

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Ce petit dieu qui vole	4		1552[a]			
Ce sont gallans qui s'en vont resjouyr . . .	4		1534[q]			Cauchie
C'est a bon droit que mon coeur se lamente .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
C'est a moy qu'en veult ce coqu	4		1550[g]		Symon, 1549[p]/	
C'est donc pour moy	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1°*			
C'est malencontre que d'aymer.	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1°*			
C'est mon amy	3	1578	LRB, *2e l.* à *3*			
C'est une dure despartie	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1°*		Sermisy, 1529	
Ce tendron est si doulce chose	4		1543[h]		Att., 1529[f]	Eitner
Changeons propos, c'est trop chanté	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1°*	Marot	Sermisy, 1528	
Chantons, sonnons trompettes	4	1530	Att., *36 ch.*			Cauchie
Chasse rigueur loing de toy	4		1551[e]			
Contre rayson vous m'estes fort estrange. .	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1°*		Att., *34 ch.* Sermisy, 1535	
De céans jusques chez m'amie	4		1550[k]		Certon, 1550[l]	
De labourer je suys cassé, il me suffit . . .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
De son amour me donne jouyssance	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
D'estre subject	4		1533[d]			
De ta bouche tant vermeille	4		1552[a]			Cauchie
De tes doux yeulx fut distillée	4	1533	*24 ch.*			Cauchie

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
De vostre amour je suis deshérité	4		Att., *24 ch.*			
De vray amour	4	1533	1534[p]			
Dictes sans peur ou l'ouy ou nenny	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*	François Ier		
Dieu doint le bonjour a mamye	4		1549[o]			
Di moy, ma soeur à qui sont	4		1552[a]			
Dont vient que ce beau temps	4		1549[o]			
Doulens regretz, ennuis, souspirs et larmes .	4	1556	LRB., 6e *l.*			
D'un seul soleil vient toute ma lumière . .	4		1550[k]			
Dur acier et diamant et l'aymant	4		1549[o]			
Elle craint cela sur tout rien	4	1553	Att., *24 ch.*			
Elle mérite pour ses grâces	4		1549[o]			Expert
Elle voyant approcher mon départ	4		1549[o]		Certon, 1547[d]	
En amour y a du plaisir	4		1550[h]			
En attendant son heureuse présence	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
En disant une chansonette	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1o			
En escoutant le chant mélodieux . . . . . [Chant du rossignol]	4		1551[i]		*Fl. joy.* (vers 1530)	
En fut il onc une plus excellente	4		1544[k]			
En la prison les ennuis	4	1556	LRB., 6· *l.*			
En me baysant m'a dict mamie	4		1549[q]			

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
En m'en venant de voir mamye	4		1543[h]			
Escoutez tous gentilz galloys [La Bataille] .	4	1528	Att., *ch.*			
Est-il possible, ô ma maitresse	4		1549[o]			
Estant oisif quelque journée . . . . . [Caquet des femmes]	5	1544				Cauchie
Et vray Dieu qu'il m'ennuye	4		1549[o]			
Faictes le moy	4		1530[b]			
Faisons le dire mensonger	4		1549[o]			Expert
Frapper en la roye c'est un grand plaisir .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
Frere frappart troussé	4		1550[k]			
Frere Lubin revenant de la queste	4		1543[h]	L. Jamet		
Frere Thibault séjourné gros et gras . . .	4		1538[p]	Marot	Certon, 1538[n]	
Fy, fy, cela est trop maigre	4		1534[o]			
Fy, fy, metez les hors	4		1533[d]			
Fyez vous y si voulés	4		1534[o]			
Gentilz veneurs, allez en queste [Chasse du cerf]	4	1528	Att., *Ch.*			Expert
Grace te rends, seigneur Dieu	4	1561	Str., *1er l.*			
Grace, vertu, bonté, beaulté	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1o*		Att., 1529[d] Roquelay, 1535 Mod., 1539[r]	
Gros Jehan menoyt hors de Paris en croupe	4		1547[f]			

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Guillot un jour était avec Babeau	4		1540[n]			
Helas amy, ta loyauté point ne mérite . .	4	1557	Du Ch., *12e l.*			
Helas je suis marry de ces maulditz . . .	3		1541[b]			
Helas mon Dieu ton ire s'est tournée . . .	4		1545[m]			Expert
Helas mon Dieu y a il en ce monde . . .	4		1547[h]	St-Gelays		
Herbes et fleurs, arbres, buissons petits . .	4	1555	Du Ch., *Inv. 2*			
Ho le meschant qui a ployé	4		1549[u]			
Il estoit une fillette qui vouloit scavoir . .	4		1540[n]			
Il est permis trouver au lict	4		1550[g]			
Il feroit bon planter le may	4		1549[q]			
Il me suffit du temps passé, vieillesse . . .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
Il n'est plaisir ne passe temps	4		1533[d]			
Il s'en va tard, il pleut, il vente	4		1549[o]			Expert
J'ay contenté ma volunté	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1o*	Marot	Sermisy, 1528	
J'ay dict, j'ay faict pour sa beaulté	4		1543[l]			
J'ay double dueil qui vivement	4		1545[o]			
J'ai d'un costé l'honneur	4		1550[k]		Symon, 1549[s] Du Tertre, 1549[t]	
J'ay le désir content	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1o*	François Ier	Sermisy, 1529	
J'ay mis mon cueur en une seullement . .	3		1541[b]		Bayeux, XXII M. Gascongne Att., *42 ch.*	

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
J'ai trop soubdainement aymé	3		1569e			
J'ay veu le temps qu'on me souloit . . .	4	1536	Att., *l. 1*			
J'attens le temps ayant ferme espérance . .	4		1540n			Expert
Je demande comme tout esbahy	3		1569e			
Jehanneton fut l'aultre jour au marché . .	4		1540n			
Je liz au cueur de mamye une envye . . .	4		1549o		Du Tertre, 1549l	
Je me veulx tant à son vouloir	4		1549o			
J'endure tout, c'est bien raison	4		1550g			
Je ne congnois femme en ceste contrée . .	4		1549o		Du Tertre, 1549l	
Je ne fais rien que requérir	3		1540g	Marot	Sermisy, 1535b	
Je ne fus jamais si aise	4	1529	Att., *31 ch.*			Expert
Je n'eu jamais de grandz biens le pouvoir .	4		1549n			
Je n'ose estre content de mon contentement	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*	François Ier		
Je prens en gré la dure mort	4		1540o			
Je suis trop jeunette	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1o*		Gascongne, 1535b	
Je suys à vous mais savez-vous comment .	4		1549o			D. F.
Jeunette Marion se vont jouer	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1o*			
Je veulx que mamye soit telle	4		1547f	Saint-Romard (traduction d'Ausonne)		
Laissez cela, ne m'en parlez jamais	4		1530b			Expert

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
La loy d'amours est tant inique	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1°			
La, mon amy, faictes	4		1533[d]			
L'amour, la mort et la vie me tourmentent .	4		1540[n]			D. F.
La mort plus tost que consentir	4		1547[h]			
La meusniere de Vernon	4		1551[i]			
La plus belle de la ville, c'est moy	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			Cauchie
Laras tu cela Michaut, maulvais garson . .	4		1538[n]			
Las on peult juger clerement	4		1544[k]			
Las povre coeur, tant tu as de tristesse . .	4	1528	Att., *Ch.*			Expert
Las que crains tu, amy, de quoy	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*	François Ier		Cauchie
Las qu'on congneust mon vouloir sans le dire	4		1540[n]		Certon, 1539[u]	
Las si tu as plaisir en mon ennuy	4		1549°			
Las sy tu veulx en aultre part aymer . . .	4		1549°			
Las viens moy secourir, ne tarde plus . . .	4		1549[n]			Cauchie
La tres doulce playsant velue	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1°			
L'aultre jour de bon matin	4		1545[n]			
L'aveuglé dieu qui partout vole	4		1551[e]			Cauchie
Le cueur de vous ma présence désire . . .	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1°	Marot	Sermisy, 1529[f] Gardane, 1539	
Le jeu m'ennuye, jouez mamye	4		1547[f]			

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Le lendemain des nopces on vint veoir . .	4		1547[f]	Marot (?)		
L'ermaphrodite est étrange en figure . . .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
L'espoir confus a plus haut désirer	4		1540[n]			
L'espoux a la premiere nuict	4		1547[f]	Marot		
Madame a soy non aux aultres ressemble .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
Madame voulez-vous scavoir [La jalouzie] .	5	1559	LRB., *Verger*			Cauchie
Maintenant resjouyssons	4		1533[d]			
Ma fille, ma mere, ma fille, venez a moy .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
Mais en quel ciel fut si belle ame	4		1549[n]			
Mais ma mignonne aux tétins découverts .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
Mais que ce fust secretement	4		1534[o]		Compère (*Odhecaton*) Piétrequin (cf. p. 159) *J. de Pl.* (1501)	
Maistre Ambrelin, confesseur de nonettes . .	4	1550	1549[t]			
Malade si fust ma mignonne	4		1549[o]			
Mamye a eu de Dieu le don	4		1540[n]			
Ma peine n'est pas grande	4		1545[m]			
Martin menoit son porceau	4		1534[o]	Marot		
Mauldicte soit la mondaine richesse	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1o*	Marot	Sermisy, 1529 Cosson, 1539[r]	
M'en allé veoir	3		1569[e]			

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Éditions modernes
My levay par ung matin plus matin	4	1529	Att., *31 ch.*			Expert
Mon ami est en grace si parfaict	4		1550[h]			
Mon confesseur m'a dict	4		1534[p]			
Nature ornant la dame qui devoit	4	1552	*Les Am.*	Ronsard		Expert
Ne vous faschez si me voyez jaloux	4		1549[o]			
Non feray, je n'en feray rien	4	1556	LRB, *7e l.*	St-Gelays		
O cruaulté logée en grant beaulté	4	1540	1539[w]	Marot	Sermisy, 1531	
O doulx regard, o parler gratieux	4		1548[d]			
O dur amour qui coeurs humains	4		1545[o]			
O fortune, n'estoys tu pas contente	4		1540[n]			
O mal d'aymer qui tous maux aultres . . .	4		1544[k]			
On dict qu'amour n'a plus fleche	4		1547[g]			
On dict que vous la voulés	4		1534[q]			
On vous est allé rapporter	4		1547[f]			Cauchie
Or as-tu bien raison de te douloir	4		1549[o]			
Or ne differez donc pour ton amy choisir .	4		1549[o]			
Or sus branlez la teste en haut [Le Siege de Metz]	5	1559	LRB., *Verger*			
Or sus pas je ne veulx refaire	4		1550[i]		Du Tertre, 1549[q]	
Or sus vous dormez trop [Chant de l'alouette]	3	1520	*Ch. à troys*		Virelai XIVe s. (De Van ; W. Apel)	Expert

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Or veit mon cueur en grand tristesse . . .	4		1543[l]			
Or vien ça, vien mamye Perrette	4		1533[a]			
O sotes gens qui s'en vont travailler . . .	4		1547[h]			
Ou cerchez-vous du dieu d'amour	4	1556	Fez., *1er l.*			
Ou mettra l'on ung baiser favorable	4		1540[n]	Attr. à St-Gelays		Cauchie
Ouvrez-moy l'huys, hé Janneton mamye . .	4		1543[h]			Expert
Pareille au feu de nom, et cruaulté	4	1557	Du Ch., *12e l.*			
Par fin despit je m'en iray seulette	3	1541	Festa, *l. 1o*		Gervaise (1529) Sermisy, 1534[p]	Cauchie
Par mes haultz cris je ne quiers advantage .	4		1549[o]			
Petit jardin a Venus consacré	4		1549[q]			D. F.
Petite damoyselle à amour donne lieu . . .	4		1549[o]			
Petite nymphe folastre	4	1552	*Les Am.*	Ronsard		Expert
Piteuse echo	4	1557	Du Ch., *1er l.*			
Pleust a Dieu que fusse arondelle	4		1554[s]			Cauchie
Plus ne suys ce que j'ay esté	4		1540[n]	Marot		
Pour loyaulment servir une maistresse . . .	4		1547[g]			
Pourquoy tournés-vous vos yeulx	4	1557	LRB., *8e l.*	Ronsard		Cauchie
Pourquoy voulés-vous cousturier	4		1534[q]			
Pour toy ton prince hélas pour esgarée . . [Prinse de Boulogne]	4		1551[l]			

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Prenez le galland	4		1538[l]		Sohier (1535)	
Puys que je n'ay pour dire aultre nouvelle .	4		1549[o]		Du Tertre, 1539[n]	
Puis que mon cueur tu as choisi	4		1547[e]			D. F.
Puysque vers vous aller je n'ause	4		1549[o]			
Quant contremont verras retourner	4		1549[o]			
Quand j'ay esté quinze heures avec vous . .	4		1550[g]			Cauchie
Quand je boy du vin claret	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1[o]		Att., 1529[g] Att., 1535[c]	Cauchie
Quand je voy ma mignonne rire	4		1550[g]			
Quand te ne voy	3		1569[f]			
Quel dieu du ciel ay je tant irrité	4		1549[o]		Du Tertre, 1549[n]	
Quelque frapart, homme de bonne mise . .	4		1545[n]			
Quelqu'un me disoit l'aultre jour	4		1550[i]			
Qu'est-ce d'amour, comment le peult on . .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*	François Ier		Cauchie
Qu'est-ce que fait celui	4	1550	1549[t]			
Qui diable nous a faict ces jours	4		1550[g]			
Qui souhaitez d'avoir tout le plaisir	4		1549[u]		Certon, 1549[t]	
Qui veult d'amour scavoir tous les esbatz .	4		1544[k]	J. Bouchet		Cauchie
Qui veult scavoir quelle est mamye	4		1549[q]			
Qui vouldra voir comme un Dieu	4	1552	*Les Am.*	Ronsard		Expert

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Réconfortez le petit cueur de moy	4	1528	Att., *Ch. nouv.*		Bayeux XXI	Cauchie
Regretz, soucy et peine	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1°		Att. 1529[d] Heurteur, 1535[b]	
Resveillez-vous, c'est trop dormy	4		1539[t]			Cauchie
Reveillez-vous cueurs endormis . . . . . [Chant des oyseaux]	4	1528	Att., *Ch.*			Expert
Revenés souvent mamye	4		1534[q]			
Rions, chantons, passons	4		1533[d]			
Robin dormoit a mesme terre	4		1550[i]			
Saincte Barbe, mon compere	4		1538[l]		Passereau, 1534°	Maldeghem (XIX, n° 8)
Sans y penser ne vouloir le vouloir	4		1547[h]			
Scavez-vous quand je suis bien aise	4		1549[n]			
Secouez-moy, je suys toute pleumeuse . . .	4		1540[n]		Dambert, 1539[x]	
Si a te veoir n'ay ausé entreprendre	4		1549°		Certon, 1548[e]	
Si celle-la qui oncques ne fut myenne . . .	4		1540[n]	G. Colin		Expert
Si comme il chiaro sole fier	4		1540[n]			
Si de bon cueur j'ayme bien une dame . .	4		1543[g]			
Si Dieu vouloit qui je feusse arondelle . .	4		1554[s]			
Si d'ung petit de votre bien	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
Si en aymant je pour chasser procure . . .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Si j'ay esté vostre amy	4	1536	Att., *l.* 1er			Expert
Si j'ay eu du mal	3	1541	Festa, *l.* 1o		Sermisy, 1529e Gosse, 1535b	
Si je me plains du mal que sens	4		1549n			
Si le coqu en ce moys de may chante . . .	4		1549n			
S'il est si doulx par quoy	3		1559c			
Si mamie a de fermeté	4		1550h		Certon, 1549l Symon, 1549s	
Si me voyez face triste et dolente	4		1549o			
Si mon malheur	3		1541b			
Si tu as veu que pour ton feu	4		1550h			
Si vous l'avés, rendez le moi	4		1549w		Josseline, 1549n	
Souffrés ung peu	4		1534p			
Sur l'aubépin qui est en fleur	4		1550h		Symon, 1549q	Cauchie
Sus approchez ces levres vermeillettes . . .	4		1547g			
Suyvez tousjours l'amoureuse entreprise . .	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
Tant est gentil, plaisant	3	1520	*Ch. à 3*			
Tant sy grave au cueur	4		1534p			
Tétin refaict plus blanc qu'un oeuf	4	1536	Att., 2e *l.*	Marot		Expert
Tout bellement s'en est allé	4	1556	LRB., 6e *l.*			
Toutes les nuictz tu m'es présente	4		1547g			Cauchie

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Tresves d'amours, c'est une paix fourrée . .	4	1536	Att., *l.* 1er			
Triste et marry, pensif	4		1549v			
Tu as tout seul, Jhan, Jhan, vignes	4		1547f	Marot		Cauchie
Une belle jeune espousée estoit une foys . .	4		1540n	St-Gelays		
Une déesse en ce temps-cy	4	1532	Mod., 2e *l.*			
Une fillette bien gorriere	4		1538m			
Une nonnain tres belle et en bon poinct . .	4		1545n	Marot		
Un frais matin dessoubs un pavillon . . .	4	1556	Fez., 2e *l.*			
Ung compaignon joly et en bon poinct . .	4		1543h			
Ung coup d'essay premier que bailler gaige .	4		1534p			
Ung gay bergier prioit une bergere	4		1540n			
Un gros prieur son petit filz baisoit	4		1549u	Marot		
Ung jour Catin venant d'estre battue . . .	4		1545n			
Ung jour Colin la colecte accula	4	1536	Att., *l.* 1	G. Colin (traduction du latin)		
Un jour que madame dormoit	4		1543h	St-Gelays	Certon, 1542l	
Ung jour Robin vint Margot empoigner . .	4		1540n	Marot (?)		
Un jour voyant ma mignonne seulette . . .	4	1555	Du Ch., *Inv.* 2			
Ung mari se voulant coucher avecques sa femme	4		1543h	St-Gelays		
Ung pelerin que les Teurs avoient pris . .	4		1545n			

	Nombre de voix	Date de 1re édition	Recueil	Auteur littéraire	Concordances littéraires antérieures	Editions modernes
Ung petit coup mamye	4		1538[i]		Passereau, 1533 Att., 3e *l.* (1536)	
Ung viellart amoureux est souvent	4	1533	Att., *24 ch.*			
Va rossignol, amoureux messager	4		1540[n]			
Ventz hardis et légiers	4		1552[a]			Cauchie
Vignon vignet qui te planta	3		1541[b]		Att., *35 ch.* (1530)	
Vivons folastres, vivons et suyvons	4	1556	LRB., 5e *l.*	Baïf (1)		Cauchie
Voulez vous ouyr les cris de Paris . . . . [Les cris de Paris]	4		1529[h]			Expert

(1) " Vivons, mignarde... " dans l'éd. Marty-Laveaux, 1, 60.

JOHANNES ZANGER'S PRAECEPTA

HANS JOACHIM MOSER (*Berlin*)

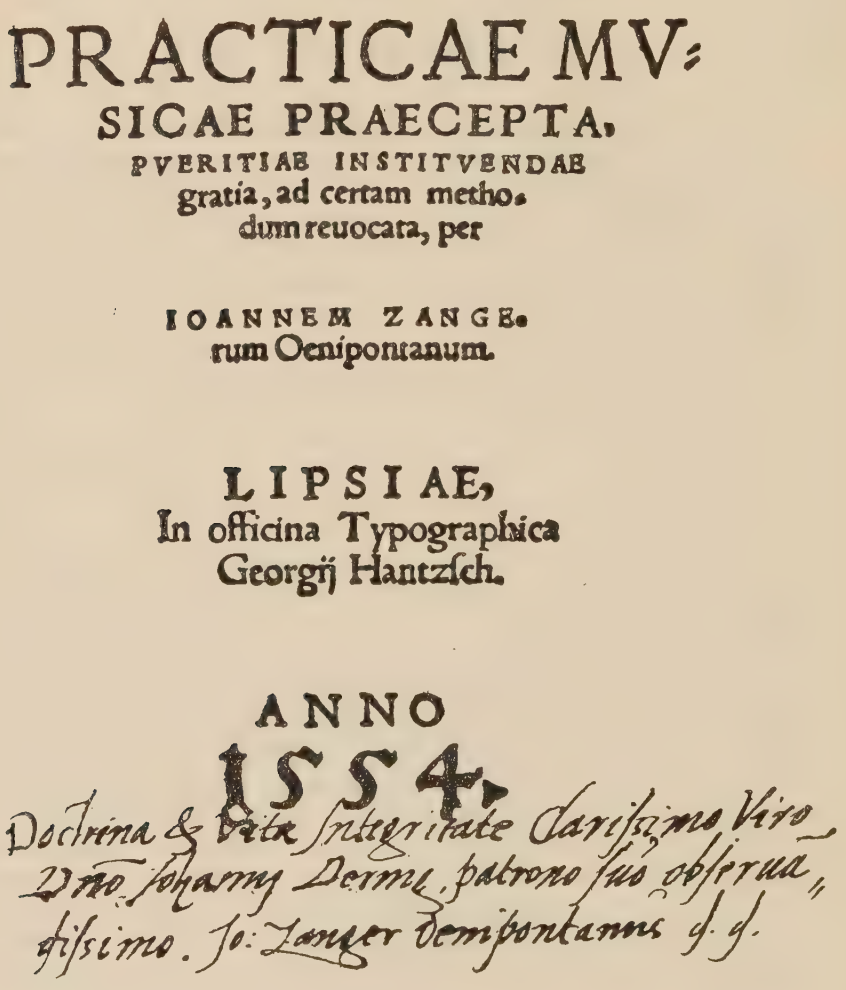
In my article « Lutheran Composers in the Habsburg Empire 1525-1732 » (*Musica Disciplina*, III, fasc. I, 1949) I briefly referred in a paragraph on page 5 to the Latin Compendium written by Johannes Zangerus. This work deserves a more detailed examination. I intend to publish a facsimile edition of this comprehensive work which, strangely enough, is not well known, although it should be very suitable for reading in seminars of musicology because of its expositions and its clear Latin. Here follows the title-page of the copy at the Landesbibliothek, Wolfenbuettel, especially interesting because of the author's dedicatory autograph.

The dedicatory epistle in the cultured handwriting of a scholar attests : « Doctrina et vitae integritate clarissimo viro Domino Johanni Dehring, patrono suo observandissimo Jo[annes] Zanger Oenipontanus d[ono] d[edit] ».

About this Hans Doehring, the Stadtarchiv, Braunschweig, has given me the following information : « Born there on April 5th, 1516, died there on May 8th, 1578 ; in 1534 he was a matriculated student at the university of Erfurt, and from 1542 to 1547 town councillor of the old City of Braunschweig ». Of Zanger « of Innsbruck », we know that as a Tyrolese he was driven north to a capital of Lower Saxony on account of his protestant confession. According to Joh. Beste (*Album der evangelischen Geistlichen der Stadt Braunschweig*, 1900, p. 26), he was born in 1517 at « Weinbrueck in Hungary ». I cannot find a place with that name ; either « Weinburg » in Styria or « Steinbrueck » in the same region must be meant ; both are not far from the Hungarian frontier. It is probable that the source had Pannonia, which was a much larger conception than « Hungary ». The *Oenipontanus* probably refers to the origin of the family or to years of study of the musician. Beste continues : « 1545 cantor at the St. Martins-School in Braunschweig, 1548 rector of the Katharineum, March 27, 1553 pastor of St. Peter's church, 1571 minister of St. Martin, 1577 coadjutor (that is, representative of the town's superintendent), died on April 5th 1587. He recorded the free lectures by Chemnitius [who was since 1554 his superior as minister, then as *superus*] and he translated several Latin writings by the same. He was so much

in the habit of using the word "dear" that once he even spoke of the "dear little devil" ».

The printer of the *Praecepta* in Leipzig, Georg Hantzsch, also printed some other compendiums of music (that is, manuals for singing lessons in schools), e. g. Heinrich Faber's *Ad musicam practi-*


PRACTICAE MV-
SICAE PRAECEPTA,
PVERITIAE INSTITVENDAE
gratia, ad certam metho-
dum reuocata, per

IOANNEM ZANGE-
rum Oenipontanum.

LIPSIAE,
In officina Typographica
Georgij Hantzſch.

ANNO
1554.

Doctrina & vitæ ſinceritate clariſſimo Viro
Dño Johanni Dermo patrono ſuo obſeruan-
diſſimo. Jo: Zanger Oenipontanus d. d.

cam introductio (1550), of which the autograph of the second part, the *Musica poetica* (1548) belongs to the Gymnasialbibliothek, Hof. Later he published in Muehlhausen (Thuringia) numerous compositions of the group Johs. Herrmann, Joachim a Burck, Johannes Eccard, Ludwig Helmbold.

In the preface to his music treatise (« To the Reader ») Zanger confesses that he has tried « certo ac facili ordine Musices praecepta facilitate utar, qua et ego praeter ceteros a praeclarissimis viris D. Henrico Finkio, D. Arnoldo de Bruk, Stephano Mahu et Johanne Langkuschio alumno meo (cui, si quid in me est vel honestioris vitae vel sanioris instititionis, merito acceptum fero) hac in arte institutus sum ». We learn from this interesting sentence, since the title *D(ominus)* has twice been added and twice been omitted, that whilst Finck and Bruck were clericals — as we have known since a long time — the musicians Mahu and Langkusch were of the laity. As Finck, head chapel-master at the court of the Emperor Ferdinand I, died on June 9th, 1527, at the Schottenkloster in Vienna, when Zanger was ten years old, and as the letter refers to the great Heinrich as the first among his masters, Zanger evidently was a singing boy in the choir of the Viennese court, where Arnold von Bruck, honorary dean of Laibach, was Finck's direct successor. Zanger calls Langkusch « *alumnus meus* », not with the usual meaning of this word as « ward », but with the rarer meaning of « foster father » found in Virgil and Isidorus. So the young singing boy evidently belonged to the household of this married member of the choir ; hence the enthusiastic vote of thanks in which he says that he owes his higher conception of life and his education to Langhkusch.

According to B. Hirzel (*SIMG*, X) in the oldest register of the Viennese choir, which dates from 1528/29, there is mentioned a « Herr Christoph Langhkusch » as the oldest choir-chaplain, that is, singing priest. Probably Johannes Langhkusch was his younger brother. It is important that Zanger mentions Stephan Mahu in the third place among his four masters. Up to now we could only suppose that this important composer[1] belonged to the Viennese court chapel, as he is mentioned in Joanellis *Thesaurus musicus*, but here the proof is furnished which will be further clarified by Zanger's expositions. The name Mahu, seems to point to a Southern Dutchman ; according to Emile Zola's novel *Germinal*, a family with the name of Maheu lived near Lille ; thus Stephan probably was an Etienne Maheu, whose passionate attitude in favor of the Reformation, as shown by the texts revised by him, would characterise him as a partisan of his countryman Lupus Hellinck. His settings of « Eine feste Burg » or of « Die roemische Braut von Babylon » did not endanger his position at the court of Ferdinand I. Writing of

[1] Cf. the writer's *Geschichte der deutschen Musik* (Cotta, 5. Edition 1930 I 374, 433, 438) ; polyphonic settings of ecclesiastical tunes in Rhaw 1544 (*DTD* 34), in Ott II, in Johs. Walter 1551 ; a reprint of the Lamentations and Magnificats in Commer's *Musica Sacra* Vol. 17/18. The old *Heidelberger Kapellkatalog* also mentions numerous works by this composer.

a similar attitude on the part of Ferdinand's chapel-master Arnold von Bruck (*Musica Disciplina*, III, p. 4), I have described it as a curiosity of the musical history of the Reformation. The same thing can be observed in the cases of other court officials under Ferdinand. Since Hermann Finck refers to Thomas Stoltzer (d. 1525), Benedict Ducis (d. 1544) and Mahu as contemporaries, they must all of them have been born around 1475/80, thus between Hofhaimer and Senfl.

In another dedication of the *Praecepta* to the four young Kahl, his pupils from Braunschweig, Zanger emphasizes that especially *Magnus Odyng, & arte, & vocis beneficio insignis Musicus* has encouraged him on with his own publication. Magnus Oeding, native of Braunschweig, was studying in Wittenberg in 1543; in 1554 he became third minister and in 1560 second minister in Celle, and married Kath. Schorkop of Braunschweig.

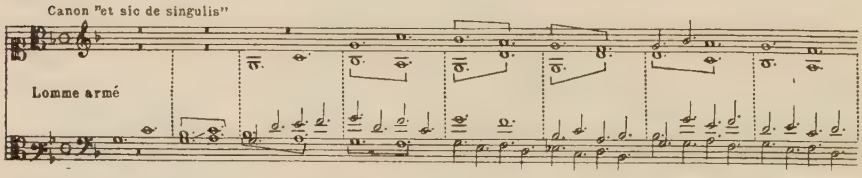
Of exceptional interest in Zanger's instructive treatise on the mensural notation of his time (this is the main theme) is his discussion on fol. K^{v}ff., which here follows in the original language and in English translation:

Quomodo igitur signatur tempus perfectum.

... Exemplum, ubi omnes notarum pausarumque quantitates ad tactum ▭ referentur, exhibuit Josquin de pres, verus artis Musicae artifex, ut sequitur addito Canone:

How is the tempus perfectum indicated?

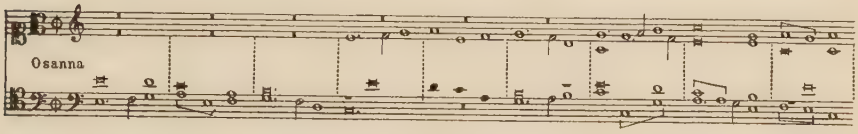
An example in which all note and rest values are applied to the breve measure is offered by Josquin Des Pres, the true master of music, in the following canon:



Exempla, ubi Notarum ac pausarum quantitates in signis diminutis ad tactum ◇ referentur, nusquam non obvia sunt. Verum hoc praeterea observandum, quod cum notis pausisque diminutione dimidia quantitas auferatur, saepe probatos musi-

Examples of durations of notes and rests applied to the semibreve measure are not infrequent. Moreover, we must observe that, as by diminution half the value is taken away from notes and rests, expert musicians have often reproduced the pro-

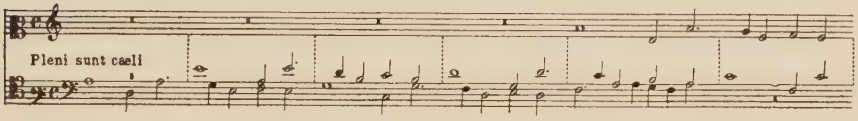
cos ternariae quantitatis respectu proportionem triplam eodem signo temporis diminuto representasse : argumento sit exemplum Josquini in Missa la sol fa re mi ut sequitur :

portio tripla, in view of the ternary value, by the same mark that indicates a diminution of the tempus. The following example is from Josquin's mass La sol fa re mi :

Quomodo signatur tempus imperfectum ad notarum quantitatem constituendam ?

... Sic ratione non diminuti circuli subsequens Josquini exemplum ex Missa Lomme arme, Arnoldus de Bruk Ro. Regiae maiestatis Archipsaltes ad tactum ▭ retulit :

How is the tempus imperfectum indicated, in order to fix the value of notes ?

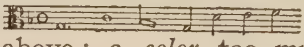
... Thus Arnold von Bruck, chapelmaster of the Imperial court, has transcribed the following example from Josquin's mass L'Homme armé into the breve-measure in accord with a circle without a bar across it.



Verum Stephanus Mahu eodem in exemplo absentiam virgulae pariter in omnibus vocibus mensurae tarditatem indicare abservit, cuius sententiam et Erasmus Lapicida Musicus praeter ceteros ejus aetatis acutissimus comprobavit, quorum ex judicio octavum axioma conformavimus.

But Stephan Mahu has shown that in the same example and in all the voices alike the absence of the stroke [the vertical stroke through the sign indicating the measure] indicates the slowness of the movement. Erasmus Lapicida, a musician who excelled the others of his time in ingenuity, has confirmed this opinion; according to their judgment we have formed the eighth theorem.

Now Erasmus Lapicida, former chapel-master of the emperor Frederic III and master of Mathias Corvinus died in 1519 at the Viennese Schottenkloster (presumably at the age of 100) ; on the other hand no compendiums of music and no music prints by the above mentioned musicians have been published in which the example by Josquin cited above is so treated. The passage, therefore, must refer to a conversation between Mahu and Lapicida, perhaps also between Arnold von Bruck and other members of the Viennese court-chapel, which took place before 1519 and of which the contents must have been conveyed to our Zanger (who was then just born) only later on by Bruck or Langkusch.

Regarding the contents of the discussions between those witnesses of the Maximilian chapel, unfortunately Smijers' edition of Josquin does not reveal anything on the original notation with regard to time signature and mensuration. It would be fruitful to pursue the matter to see whether Bruck's proposal in notation was perhaps accepted by one or the other German print, thus tracing the influence of the « Dean of Laibach » upon the unknown editor. Unfortunately such a pursuit from Berlin is at present not possible. Smijers has not taken notice of Zanger among his sources, whilst Joh. Wolf used him for his edition of Obrecht. Other examples in the work represent Jo. Ghiselin, Anton Brumel (*Missa Bontemps*), Petrus de Larue, Obrecht (*Missa Ave regina*), Okeghem (*Missa prolationum*) and Josquin (*Missa Fortuna*). From this source alone I took Thomas Sporer's *Exemplum diminutionis* when I was preparing the edition of the works of this master of Freiburg and Strasbourg. We also find in Zanger's compendium an *Exemplum augmentationis* by Johs. Walter the younger ; a two-voice setting by Sebald Heiden ; a Paradigma « ex Ornitoparcho » ; two examples by Isaac ; one by Stephan Mahu, and a four-voice canon by Pierre de La Rue. As to Josquin's « Lomme arme » in Zanger's compendium (compare our first example), it concerns that secular *Tricinium* out of Petrucci's Canti B no. 1, which Ambros (III, 57) has mentioned because of the « *et sic de singulis* ». Apparently the master of Condé was only interested in the problem of notation, wherefor according to the Canonic prescription  the transcription must be made as shown above ; a *color* too must be observed. The same passage could have been written just as well, and even more easily, in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori*, without any dots of augmentation.

The « Pleni sunt » is from Josquin's *Missa l'Homme armé supra voces musicales* (Smijers, *Messen*, I, p. 21) ; a later quotation, however, is from his mass *L'Homme armé sexti toni*.

The proper theme of the discussion, the connection between time signature and measure is of new interest nowadays because of

H. Besseler's indication (*Bourdon und Fauxbourdon*, 1950, p. 126 ff.), that Dufay replaced about 1430 the quicker *Prolatio major* measure of the *Ars nova* by the *Tempus perfectum diminutum* measure of Okeghem's slower *Devotio moderna* ; thus 6/8 instead of 6/4 time. For Zanger, a century later, the problem is about the same : the difference between the older, more fluid *alla breve* and the more modern semibreve measure — also designated as *tactus major* and *tactus minor*. It is a problem that is still of great importance nowadays, for example for the interpretation of Gluck's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, although the time-signature is not of much help in that case. For the early 16th century, Georg Schünemann (« Zur Frage des Taktschlagens », *SIMG* X, 32 f.) collected a lot of literature about this problem, but unfortunately he too did not take notice of Zanger. Zanger based himself upon the great Viennese musicians around 1519, whose wiews were conveyed to him in direct tradition ; and this gives a special importance to his discussions.

Berlin

THE POLYPHONIC SCHOOL IN SICILY OF THE SIXTEENTH-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

OTTAVIO TIBY (*Palermo*)

The systematic recognition of our immense heritage in 16th-17th century polyphony, and particularly the madrigal, has only recently been pushed to the South of Rome ; but it has not yet reached Sicily. In this study we should like to show briefly that which took place in Sicily in the field of musical composition from the middle of the 16th to the middle of the 17th century. It will be seen how the currents prevalent at that time in Italy found reverberations in Sicily, and how this aroused a vivid interest in Sicilian musicians : men who possessed full ability in their art and who, reaching beyond the limits of their insular life, kept themselves abreast of that which went on in the great artistic centres in Italy and drew from it energy for their own work.

Sicily never had princely families like the Medici, the Gonzaga, D'Este, Della Rovere, and only in the early period of her history, under the Emperor Frederic II, had her culture a universal value. During the period with which we are here concerned, instead of a splendid imperial court, there was in Palermo a modest court of the Viceroy, centre only of Spanish ostentation. The island, as so many parts of Italy, constituted then « una piccola nave rimorchiata dal gran galeone spagnuolo ». However, being a kingdom annexed to the Spanish crown and having her own parliament and advanced political institutions, her own flag, her own currency, a navy, and her own consuls abroad, Sicily enjoyed an importance among the Italic states, and very often, conscious of her force, she was indocile to her sovereign.

The general cultural conditions in Sicily at that time were all in all satisfactory. To the two universities already existing (Catania, 1440, Palermo, 1498) was to be added a third, that of Messina (1596). Everywhere was to be found the flourishing of schools and cultural initiative, among which must be mentioned the « accademie » which at that time sprang up even in small cities. Of these institutions, so characteristic of Italian life during the Renaissance, one can say — and one has said — all the derogatory things he wishes ; but it would be difficult to deny that in an epoch when very few

diversions of intellectual character existed, the academies did not represent something more than a charming pastime. They were due principally to the initiative of the nobility, which in Sicily formed the class that fostered the culture of the time. This nobility showed itself very responsive and hospitable to music, and we know of great houses which opened their sumptuous drawing rooms to musical gatherings. These took place principally in Palermo, where round the Vice-Regal court had gradually gathered the elegant and cultivated life of the kingdom, a life which, according to testimony of foreign travelers, left nothing to be desired compared with that in other Italian states.

Touching only so very briefly the milieu of the time (a description of which we could easily extend and complete) we see how during the one hundred years in question several generations of musicians dedicated themselves assiduously to composition in the style and technique of the epoch. We further see how, in order to propagate production, musical presses were established in Palermo and Messina, which in beauty of their type equalled the celebrated Venetian presses. About 50 polyphonic works (so far as we know) were printed by these presses [1]; some of these have come down to us, while others we only know of. The existence of musical presses is an indication of the interest that the country had in its musical movement; they are also a sign of the economic advantages in such an enterprise.

These composers coming from various parts of Sicily were not renowned only locally. There were those among them as Pietro Vinci da Nicosia, Sigismondo d'India da Palermo, Antonio il Verso da Piazza Armerina, Erasmo Marotta da Randazzo and others, who enjoyed an international fame. These men had their works printed not only in Palermo but also to a great extent by the Venetians and less by the Romans. It is surely not to the credit of the island and its writers that the memory of a movement which must have had its own importance was so soon lost. For the Sicilians of the time these musicians, if from the nobility, were considered as no more than pleasant dillettantes (and surely such were some of them). If the musicians were not from the nobility, they did not attain a higher place in general consideration than that of a musical artisan occupied in amusing others. If, furthermore, a musician was an ecclesiastic, his music was considered no more than a part of his professional culture, and no one lent attention to the priest or a friar in his frequent incursions in the field of secular music, even when of a most languidly erotic kind.

[1] See App. II.

In view of this group of composers, flourishing in a relatively short period, we are led to ask whether one may or may not speak of a « school ». Now the concept of a « school » in the domain of music, and also of the other arts, was then connected with the teaching of a master, a notable personage in the art whose style and technique were recognized also in his pupils and which had thus left a special mark on the artistic output of a period and region [2]. Therefore, in order to answer the question posed above, it is necessary on the one hand to ascertain the schooling of most, if not all, of the composers, and on the other hand to observe the common characteristics of their technique and style.

Having already accomplished this task, the present writer must answer the above questions negatively. The individual biographers, who by search in archives and libraries have succeeded in collecting information about most of these composers, exclude any unity in their training. The diversity of teaching, however, represented by these composers demonstrate that the pedagogical possibilities of the Sicilian cities were very remarkable, and this also compensates for the absence of a « school » properly so-called. Thus, having studied the works of the group, scattered in the libraries of all Europe, no distinct common stylistic characteristic has been noted. These works seem to have been influenced by the current tendencies of the time, and they fit into the framework of the tendencies that were transforming polyphony in general and the madrigal in particular at the turn of the century. Nevertheless the word « school » has been employed in the title of this study, but this rather as a convenient name and only to designate a particular musical movement well delimited geographically and in time.

The writer has singled out 48 composers (listed below), of greater or lesser renown, constituting this group.[3] However of 19 among these either no compositions or incomplete works have come down to us. Of a number of others we only have a few madrigals. Nevertheless, it is possible to present the general musical characteristics of the more important composers of the group. This is what we shall now do, although very briefly, venturing to say that even if a miracle restored to us the works that are lost, the general appraisal of the group would certainly not undergo a change.

* * *

The first composer to be discussed is Pietro Vinci da Nicosia, born about 1540. His first publication, a book of motets for 5 voices

[2] Cf. Martini, *Saggio fondamentale pratico di Contrappunto*, II, 294. In later times the concept of a « school » became broader, applying to a mere community of ideals among the artists.

[3] See App. I.

(1558) indicates that very early in his life must he have turned to music, which he studied away from Sicily, thus leaving his country as a child or at least as a boy. In his recent work, *The Italian Madrigal*, Einstein places Vinci among the followers, if not direct pupils, of Luzzaschi. But considering carefully the data concerning both men one could perhaps think that they were both of about the same age, or rather that probably Luzzaschi was younger. When Vinci was thirty years old he held the position of the *maestro di cappella* at Bergamo. There he remained twelve years, until an acute nostalgy for his native island and for his relatives returned him to Nicosia. Here he was *maestro* at the Cathedral, and here he died prematurely in 1584.

There is no doubt that during the years in upper Italy Vinci had intercourse with the cultivated minds of the musical Italy of the time. He knew Orazio Vecchi, and he must have been intimate with Vincenzo Galilei, to whom he dedicated a composition in his *II Libro di Madrigali a 5* (1587). Della Viola in Ferrara, Farabosco in Bologna, C. de Rore in Parma, Ingegneri in Cremona, Palestrina in Rome — such were the men active at that time. It was the moment of full development of the classical madrigal, and the beginning of the movement that must soon reach the « romanticism » of a Gesualdo, of a Monteverdi.

Vinci surely had many pupils, in Bergamo and in Nicosia. He published, so far as we know, 22 books of polyphonic compositions, some of which saw several editions. His madrigals and motets appeared in collections until 1616. In his art he is not a bold venturer but a conservative. His counterpoint is very orthodox. His only venture is away from modality and gregorian melodies. In his works the tonal feeling is clear and in his melodies there is a certain « ariosità » which announces new times. If the new style asserting itself at the end of the century overshadowed the fame of Vinci, he must nevertheless be included among the great composers of the second period in the history of the madrigal — that of full technical development and expressiveness.[4]

Antonio il Verso da Piazza Armerina lived between 1560 and 1620. He was a pupil of Vinci, but very much differed from his master in artistic temperament. He went to Palermo quite young and certainly spent most of his life there, teaching and probably in charge of music at some church. Verso was the most prolific of Sicilian composers, having published some 40 books of sacred and secular music but most of which have been lost or left incomplete. From what is left of his work we come to know a composer

[4] For Vinci taken as composer only of secular music see F. Mompellio, *Pietro Vinci madrigalista siciliano*, Milano 1937.

who is a master of his art and who leans towards the new tendencies. He by far surpasses his master in boldness of technique and search for expressiveness. While his *Lamento d'Arianna* was published eleven years after the celebrations at Mantua in 1608, his *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* was taken for an anthology of madrigals at least seven years before the performance of Monteverdi's work at Palazzo Mocenigo in Venice. There is no doubt that if Verso had been born a decade or two later or had lived longer, he too would have followed the «seconda prattica» in composition. As it was, although a change is noticeable between the first and the last books of his madrigals, Verso's art stopped just at the threshold of the «prima prattica».

An absolutely Monteverdian type is Sigismondo d'India, a Palermitan nobleman, who however lived most of his life away from Sicily. As in the case of Monteverdi, his contemporary, Sigismondo d'India is a madrigalist of the late 16th century and the monodist of the early 17th century. He persues monodic composition in the field of chamber music and this is absolutely in « concitato » style. His intermezzi and dramatic music, composed when he was at the Court of Savoy are lost ; but, besides some minor works, 7 books of his madrigals have remained. Four of these are for a single voice, two contain *Villanelle alla napolitana*, and one is music and dances for four voices. Almost nothing is know of d'India's biography. The period of his publications is from 1606 to 1627, and this is the only sure fact that we know about him. But it is evident that he must have been perfectly abreast of the innovations that were developing at the time in the field of dramatic and non-dramatic music ; and he must have had dealings with the great musicians of his time, as well as with the stately courts of Northern Italy. He who examines d'India's music, especially his monodic works, has a revelation, and he understands how Monteverdi's innovations were at that time already in the air by virtue of the new feeling on the part of the better minds.[5]

Two books of *Villanelle alla napolitana* have been mentioned. It should be observed that the Sicilian musicians did not go into this form, belonging as they did to a region where monodic airs were quite characteristic. It is hardly necessary to refer to the writings of Giustiniani in 1628 and of Della Valle in 1640 boasting of the beauty of the « Siciliane ». But the present writer has never been able to establish that the music of the Sicilian composers is marked by a recognisable local colour.

In Vinci, Verso and d'India we have seen the three greater representatives of musical Sicily at the end of the Renaissance. From

[5] On d'India see the modern edition of 1° *Libro di Madrigali a 5 voci*, with Appendices, edited by F. Mompellio, in *I Classici Musicali Italiani*, 1942.

among the lesser composers mention should be made of : Niccolò Toscano (1535-1605), author of a joyous book of *Canzonette a 4* (1584) ; the Jesuit Erasmo Marotta who in his book of madrigals (1600) set to music some choruses from Tasso's *Aminta* and for this enjoyed an unmerited fame, since posterity considered him as the man who had set to music the entire *Aminta*[6]; finally, Domenico Campisi (1588-1641) who was included by Allacci among the great personages living in Rome about 1630.

Brevity does not permit mention of other lesser composers, among whom there are also those following in the new path. But attention should be called to the presence in Sicily of some foreign composers. We have in mind specially Sebastian Raval, director of music at the Cappella Palatina of Palermo (who was the subject of a study by the writer, published in the present periodical),[7] and the Frenchman Claude Paris of Burgundian origin.[8] These composers produced and published in Palermo, dedicating their works to Sicilian noblemen, and remaining satisfied of the artistic climate of the capital. The first was a modest composer, though haughty in person. The second was a seasoned musician, even more « modern » than Antonio il Verso ; but of his life we are able to say nothing.

In conclusion, as already said, the Sicilian composers, even those who passed their entire life on the island, reflect the evolution in musical composition that took place at that time. However, while the old modes no longer appear in their works because they are replaced by a clear tonal sense, full chromaticism too is absent, and « madrigalisms » are very sparingly used. Although marching on with the times, there seems to be in these men an instinctive sobriety. Sigismondo d'India is the one who appears farthest advanced in the tendencies of the time, but it must be remembered that he spent his entire life in Northern Italy. Dissonance is used by these composers gradually and broadly to serve the purpose of the harmonic and expressive tension practiced in the art of the time (and so well studied by Jeppesen).[9] We must once more remember too, that what now may seem to us bland and colourless need not have been — undoubtedly was not — so considered in its own time, since neither sensibilites were then like ours nor at all events was the urge for originality so pronounced.

Palermo

[6] Such a mistaken assertion is made even by Carducci, *Opere*, XIV, 263.

[7] *Musica Disciplina*, II, fasc. 3-4.

[8] This composer, who seems to be called Claudio Pari Borgognone on the frontispiece of his work, is, on the basis of the dedication of *III Libro Madrigal a 5 voci* (Palermo, Maringo 1616 or 1617), a foreigner. « Borgognone » is therefore to be understood as an allusion to his origin from Burgundy (Borgogna) and his name, Paris, should be maintained.

[9] K. Jeppesen, *The style of Palestrina and the Dissonance*, Copenhagen 1946.

Appendix 1.

SICILIAN COMPOSERS ACTIVE BETWEEN 1550 AND 1650

Active before 1600	*Active about 1600*	*Active about 1620*	*Active after 1620*
Giov. Domenico Carrozza	Gerolamo Branciforti da Palermo	Filippo Bonaffino da Messina	Vincenzo Amato da Ciminna
Mauro Chiaula da Palermo	Vincenzo Branciforti	Giov. Batt. Calì da Licata	Mario Capuano
Anselmo Di Fazio da Enna	Francesco Bruno da Alcara	Domenico Campisi da Regalbuto	Cesare Del Giudice da Palermo
Francesco Flaccomio da Messina	Giovanni Candia da Messina	Ottavio Catalano da Enna	Vincenzo D'Elia
Giov. Batt. Lombardi da Messina	Pietro Caracciolo da Nicosia	Raimondo D'Amico da Noto	Francesco Fiammingo
Bartolomeo Lombardo	Barbarino Costanzo	Sigismondo D'India da Palermo	Antonio La Greca da Palermo
Leandro Mira	Giov. Pietro Flaccomio da Milazzo	Mariano Di Lorenzo da Noto	
Giulio Oristagno da Trapani	Vincenzo Gallo da Alcara	Antonio Formica da Licata	
Nicolò Toscano da Erice	Tommaso Giglio da Enna	Alessandro Grandi	
Pietro Vinci da Nicosia	Riccardo La Monaca da Piazza Armerina	Francesco Italia da Palermo	
	Cornelio La Morsia	Giuseppe Palazzotto da Castelvetrano	
	Girolamo Lombardo	Francesco Podio da Palermo	
	Vittorio Laudo da Alcara		
	Erasmo Marotta da Randazzo		
	Pietro M. Marsolo da Messina		
	Vincenzo Mirabella da Siracusa		
	Giovanni Oliva da Messina		
	Antonio Sanso da Piazza Armerina		
	Francesco Tomeo		
	Antonio il Verso da Piazza Armerina		

Appendix II.

MUSIC PRINTED IN SICILY FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 16th TO THE MIDDLE OF 17th CENTURY [1]

A) Palermo.

Printer : Giovanni Francesco Carrara (1583-1595)

1589 – ** V. Gallo – Il 1° libro di Madrigali a 5.
1595 – * A. il Verso – Il 3° libro di Madrigali a 5.

Printer : Giovanni Antonio De Franceschi (1588-1636)

1588 – ** P. Vinci – Il 3° libro di Mottetti a 5 ed a 6.
1590 – A. il Verso – Il 1° libro di Madrigali a 5.
1596 – A. il Verso – Il 1° libro della Musica a 2.
1600 – * S. Raval – Motecta selecta [2].
1602 – ** G. Oristagno – Responsoria Nativitatis et Ephiphaniae.
1604 – ** F. Podio – Il 1° libro di Ricercate.

Printer : Giovan Battista Maringo (1597-1638)

1597 – ** V. Laudo – Il 1° libro di Madrigali a 5.
1603 – ** Infidi lumi – Madrigali a 5.
1606 – ** V. Mirabella – Il 1° libro di Madrigali a 5.
– * A. il Verso – Motecta.
1607 – V. Gallo – Salmi del Re David.
– * A. il Verso – Il 3° libro di Madrigali a 6.
1608 – ** A. il Verso – I,' 11° libro di Madrigali a 5.
1611 – * C. Pari – Il Pastor fido – 2° libro di Madrigali a 5 [2].
– * A. il Verso – Motecta a 3...6.
1612 – ** A. il Verso – Il 13° libro di Madrigali a 5.
– ** A. il Verso – Il 14° libro di Madrigali a 5.
1615 – ** D. Campisi – Mottetti a 2, 3, 4, libro 1°.
1616 – * C. Pari – Il 3° libro di Madrigali a 5 [2].
– G. Palazzotto – Il 1° libro di Mottetti.

[1] One asterisk prefixed indicates that the work has come down to us incomplete or defective ; two asterisks indicate that no copy of the work is today known. The data about the works now not found are deduced mostly by Mongitore (*Bibliotheca sicula*, Palermo, 1707), confirmed, most of them, by Narbone (*Bibliografia sicula sistematica*, Palermo, 1850) or by F. Evola (*Storia tip.-lett. del sec. XVI in Sicilia*, Palermo, 1878) and in some cases also by Allacci (*Apes urbanae*, Rome 1633). Mongitore lists books that he had in his hands, and in some cases he adds : « Stampò altro che non vidi ». The same is to be said of Narbone and Evola, in whose time, rather close to ours, the bibliographical-musical resources of Sicily were certainly greater than that which exist now.

[2] Non-Sicilian composer.

[2] Non-Sicilian composer.

1617 – * A. IL VERSO – Il 4° libro di Madrigali a 3.
1618 – ** D. CAMPISI – Mottetti a 2, 3 e 4, libro 2°.
1619 – C. PARI – Il Lamento di Arianna – 4° libro di Madrigali a 5 [2].
– A. IL VERSO – Il 15° libro di Madrigali a 5.
1619-20 – ** A. GRANDI – Mottetti a 2 e 3 fino ad 8, libri 5.
1620 – G. PALAZZOTTO – Il 2° libro di Madrigali a 5.
1624 – ** M. DI LORENZO – Salmi, Magnificat, Falsi bordoni, ecc.
1635 – E. MAROTTA – Raccolta di Mottetti, libro 1°.

Printer: Angelo Orlandi e Diego Cirillo (1612-1622)

1614 – ** F. ITALIA – Responsoria.

Printer: Giuseppe Bisagni (1634-1664)

1656 – ** V. AMATO – Sacri concenti a 2, 3, 4 e 5, libro 1°.
– ** V. AMATO – Messa e Salmi di Vespro e Compieta, libro 1°.
1657 – ** A. LA GRECA – Armonia sacra di vari Mottetti a più voci.

Printer: Veneziano [3].

1636 – ** V. D'ELIA – Salmi e Inni di Vespri.

Printer: a Palermitan, not named.

1589 – ** Madrigali a 6 di vari autori.
1596 – A. DI FAZIO – Sacrarum cantionum a 5, libro 1°.
1635 – ** C. DEL GIUDICE – Mottetti e Madrigali.
? – ** P. CARACCIOLO – Madrigali a 5.
? – ** G. BRANCIFORTI – Il 1° libro di Madrigali a 5.

B) MESSINA.

Printer: Fausto Bufalino (1589-1592)

1589 – ** F. BRUNO – Il 1° libro di Madrigali a 5.
– * A. DI FAZIO – Il 1° libro di Madrigali a 5.

Printer: Pietro Brea (1594-1600)

1622 – ** R. D'AMICO – Mottetti a più voci, libri 1° e 2°.
1623 – F. BONAFFINO – Madrigali concertati a 2, 3, e 4.
1628 – ** C. DEL GIUDICE – Madrigali concertati a 2, 3 e 4.
1631 – G. PALAZZOTTO – Sacre canzoni musicali a 2, 3, 4 e 5.

Printer: Messinese, not named.

1589 – ** A. DI FAZIO – Mottetti a 5.
1632 – ** F. FIAMMINGO – Cantate a 3.

[3] Thus Mongitore, *Op. cit.*, II, 281 ; but no Sicilian printer of the time corresponds to this name (cf. N. D. Evola, *Ricerche storiche della tipogr. sicil.*, Firenze, 1940). Perhaps it was De Franceschi, a Venetian in origin and in 1636 still active.

ANENT A RITORNELLO IN MONTEVERDI'S ORFEO

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Among the several instrumental pieces in Monteverdi's *Orfeo* there is a ritornello which has become famous or, shall we say, notorious for its problematic rhythm. It occurs in the Second Act, in connection with Orfeo's song, *Vi ricorda*, whose stanzas are preceded and followed by this short instrumental piece, written in five parts and to be played, according to an original note, on five *viole da braccio*, one *contrabasso*, two *clavicembali*, and three *chitarroni*.

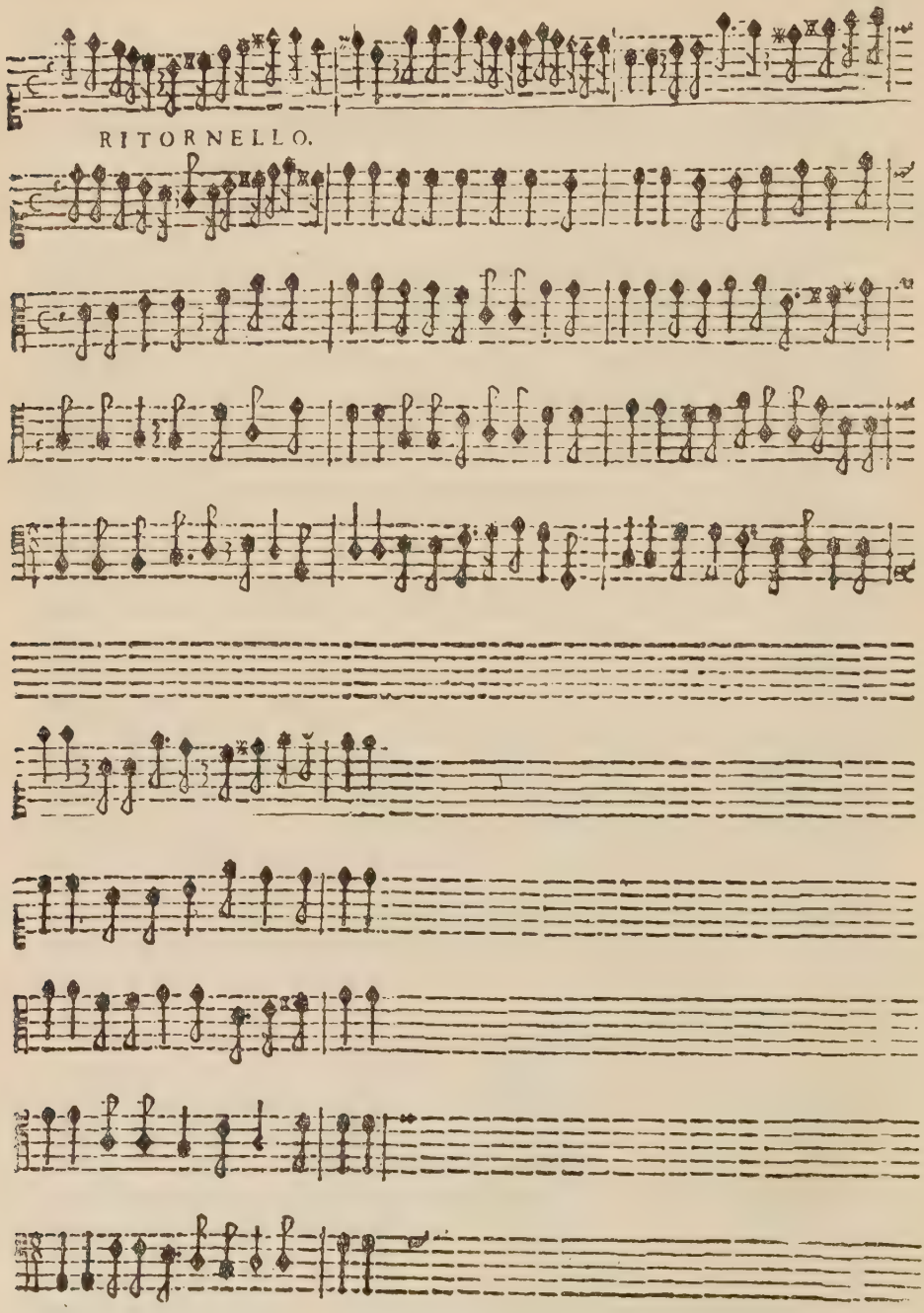
Quite a few editors have published transcriptions of this ritornello, and a glance at these suffices to show that there is a problem involved here. Moreover, the ritornello in question has been discussed at length by several scholars each of whom has arrived at a different result. Among them was Hugo Riemann who made bold to close his explanations with the words : « Ich denke, damit ist diese Stelle endgültig erledigt » (I think this settles the problem definitely). Actually, this was far from being the case. Editors and musicologists continued to offer interpretations differing more or less from those of Riemann and others. In the material available to me I have found eight different renditions of one and the same piece, certainly an exceptionally high number, particularly in view of the fact that the composition dates from a period usually considered as being unencumbered by notational problems. In presenting herewith « Solution No. 9 » I am not claiming that the problem is « endgültig erledigt ». I do believe, however, that my interpretation has certain merits not found in the others, and that it sheds new light on the famous ritornello.

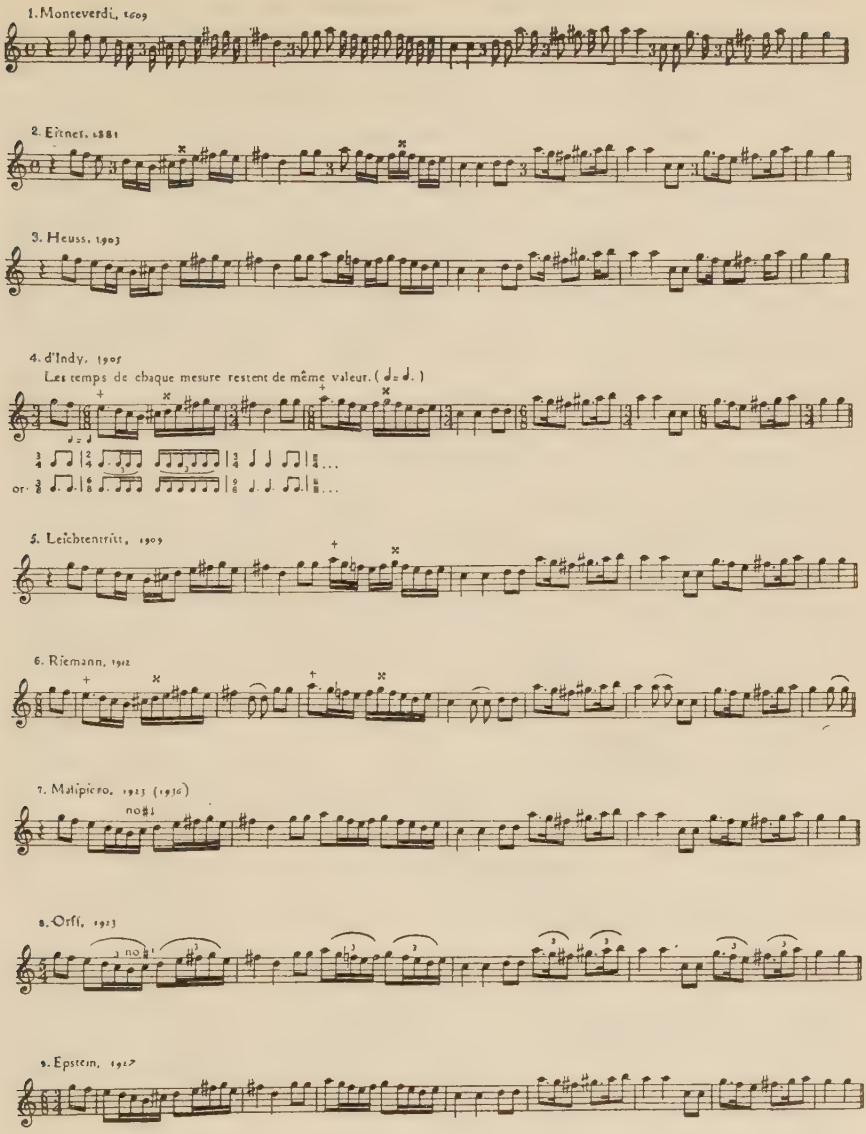
It is not without interest to survey the whole situation and to compare the various transcriptions that have until now been offered. Since the composition in question is essentially homophonic, it will be sufficient to consider the top voice only. Fig. 1 of the accompanying table shows a reproduction of this voice part as it appears in the original editions of 1609 and 1615 (see also the facsimile showing the entire page of the original edition).[1] It will be noticed that

[1] The original edition shows some errors which can easily be (and always have been) corrected, since they do not occur in the two subsequent renditions

Fu ſonato queſto Ritornello di dentro da cinque Viole da braccio, vn contrabaſſo, duoi Clauicembani & tre chitarroni.

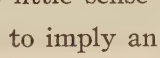
RITORNELLO.





the figure 3 appears repeatedly within the course of this melody. This is a familiar device of mensural notation, found in numerous sources from about 1450 to 1650, to indicate *proportio tripla*, that

of the ritornello : the fourth note from the end of the highest staff is an eighth-note (not a sixteenth-note), and a dot is missing after the next note as well as in the corresponding place of the next measure.

is, a rhythm essentially like that expressed today by triplets. The disturbing feature, however, is that the actual number of note values (*fusas*, or eighth-notes) grouped under the sign 3 is not three or six, but four (near the end) or eight (near the beginning). Thus we find here something that makes just as little sense as would :  in a modern score. The notation seems to imply an inner contradiction, and this is what makes the ritornello problematic.

The first to tackle the problem was Robert Eitner, in his edition of *Orfeo* which appeared in 1881 [2]. His transcription of the top voice is shown in Fig. 2. Well aware of the problematic character of the piece, he added a footnote saying : « Die Dreien stehen im Original nicht immer vor den drei Noten, sondern oft zwischen ihnen. Der Satz ist rhythmisch sehr merkwürdig » (In the original, the figures 3 do not always stand in front of the three notes but often between them. The composition is rhythmically very strange). In other words, Eitner assumed that the figures 3 were placed wrongly in the original. As his transcription shows, he moves them all to other places, either to the left or to the right of their original position. In addition, however, he changes the value of two notes (marked * in Fig. 1), making them sixteenth-notes, instead of eighth notes. It will be noticed that Eitner's rendition results in $^5/_4$ measures, except for the first which is in $^4/_4$.

The next to take up the problem was Alfred Heuss, in an article, « Die Instrumentalstücke des , Orfeo ' », which appeared in 1903 [3]. He says (translated from p. 191) that the composition is known for its peculiar rhythm, that Eitner's transcription results in $^5/_4$ meter, and that, although Monteverdi may have been bold enough to use such meter, it is in contradiction with the ensuing song (i. e., *Vi ricorda*), which categorically demands $^6/_4$ meter — adding that a change of meter between the ritornello and the song itself is inadmissible. He solves the problem by declaring that the figures 3 in the original editions should be eliminated altogether (« gehören nicht hinein »), and calls attention to the fact that they do not appear in the repeat of the ritornello [4]. Fig. 3 shows the version of Heuss, consistently in $^6/_4$ meter, and without changes of the original note values, but disregarding the figures 3.

[2] R. Eitner, *Publikation älterer ... Musikwerke*, Band X : *Die Oper* (1881), p. 158 f.

[3] *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* iv (1902/3), p. 191 ff ; especially p. 223.

[4] In the original edition the ritornello is printed once more, without the figures 3, after the first stanza of the song. Nor do the figures appear in the song which otherwise shows a rhythmic structure identical with that of the ritornello. There can be no doubt that Heuss is right in maintaining that, whatever the rhythm of the ritornello, the song should follow the same pattern.

Two years later, in 1905, there appeared Vincent d'Indy's edition, *Claudio Monteverdi, Orfeo* where, on p. 17, the ritornello is given as shown in Fig. 4. As in the version of Heuss, the enigmatical 3s are disregarded, and an alternation of $^{3}/_{4}$ and $^{6}/_{8}$ measures is introduced, resulting in a rhythmic shift similar to that found in many *courantes* of the seventeenth century. Besides, note values are changed even more than in Eitner's reading. Not only do the * notes appear as sixteenths, but the notes marked + are made into dotted values. I can find no reason for this modification which recurs in some of the later versions (e. g., Riemann). Perhaps the intention was to avoid the immediate repeat of the same rhythmic pattern in the two $^{6}/_{8}$ measures. Finally, there is a remark, « Les temps de chaque mesure restent de même valeur ♩. ♩. », intended to clarify the temporal relationship between the two kinds of meter employed. Unfortunately, the exact meaning of this remark is not too clear. Most readers would probably interpret it as indicating that the $^{6}/_{8}$ measure has the same duration as the $^{3}/_{4}$ measure, as is the case in the *hemiola* rhythms of the *courante*. This interpretation would imply that the sign ♩ refers to the $^{6}/_{8}$ measure, the sign ♩. to the $^{3}/_{4}$ measure, an interpretation supported in some degree by the fact that the $^{6}/_{8}$ measure comes first, the $^{3}/_{4}$ measure second. Very likely, however, d'Indy considered the up-beat, in $^{3}/_{4}$, as the initial meter, in which case ♩ would refer to $^{3}/_{4}$, ♩. to $^{6}/_{8}$, obviously a much more plausible interpretation since these values actually represent the « temps » in the two meters. Starting from this assumption, each of the two groups in the $^{6}/_{8}$ measure actually becomes a triplet with reference to the quarter-note of $^{3}/_{4}$, or (to put it the other way around) the quarter-note of $^{3}/_{4}$ becomes a dotted note with reference to that of $^{6}/_{8}$. The result, shown underneath Fig. 4 in small notes, is once more quintuple meter, $^{2}/_{4} + {}^{3}/_{4} = {}^{5}/_{4}$ or $^{6}/_{8} + {}^{9}/_{8} = {}^{15}/_{8}$.

In 1909 Hugo Leichtentritt discussed the ritornello in his edition of vol. IV of Ambros' *Geschichte der Musik* (p. 562). Obviously he was not familiar with d'Indy's edition, since he considers only the versions of Eitner and Heuss. He disagrees with the latter's opinion that the ritornello (as well as the song) are in $^{6}/_{4}$ meter, maintaining that both are in $^{5}/_{4}$. Thus, his rendition, shown in Fig. 5, is similar to that of Eitner and d'Indy, but differs from both of them in several details. Once more, two of the original note values are altered. The figures 3 are partly disregarded, partly shifted to other places.

The next chapter in the « curious history » of our ritornello is represented by a discussion in Riemann's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, vol. II. 2 (1912), p. 197 f. In view of Riemann's well known propensity for square rhythmic schemes a rejection of Leichtentritt's $^{5}/_{4}$ meter was almost axiomatic. Like Leichtentritt, he seems un-

familiar with d'Indy's edition but, by a strange coincidence, his version is almost identical with that of d'Indy, involving exactly the same changes of note values (* and +). The melody appears in $^{6}/_{8}$ meter throughout, with every second measure in syncopation (see Fig. 6). This unchanged meter, of course, implies that all measures are equally long, thus resulting in a version differing in one important aspect from that of d'Indy. Brief mention may be made here of an early Italian edition of *Orfeo*, by Giacomo Orefice (Milan, 1909) which I have been unable to examine. According to a remark in P. Epstein's article (see below) the ritornello is notated here as in d'Indy's edition. It would be interesting to know whether Orefice also has d'Indy's remark about the tempo relationship between $^{6}/_{8}$ and $^{3}/_{4}$. If not, his version would be identical (or nearly so) with that of Riemann rather than with d'Indy's.

In 1920 there appeared G. F. Malipiero's edition of *L'Orfeo* (Chester, London), in which the ritornello appears (on p. 40) in a version similar to that of Heuss, the only difference being that each of the $^{6}/_{4}$ measures involves a change of meter, from $^{3}/_{4}$ to $^{6}/_{8}$. The same transcription is used in Malipiero's edition of *Tutte le opere di Claudio Monteverdi*, vol. XI : *L'Orfeo* (1936), p. 48. See Fig. 7.

Five-four meter makes its reappearance in the German edition *Orpheus*, published by M. Orff in 1923 (Schott, Mainz). As will be seen from Fig. 8, his version is essentially identical with what probably was d'Indy's intended interpretation. At any rate, the time signature $^{5}/_{4}$ and the triplet markings eliminate misunderstandings or doubts such as may well arise in the case of d'Indy's notation. Orff's reading is preferable to that of d'Indy because the original note values are not changed. The figures 3 are not disregarded, but are once more made to refer to groups other than those with which they appear in the original notation.

To my knowledge, the last to take up the problem was P. Epstein, in an article entitled « Zur Rhythmisierung eines Ritornells von Monteverdi », which appeared in 1927 [5]. After a discussion of the earlier attempts (Eitner, Heuss, d'Indy, Leichtentritt, Riemann) Epstein offers a transcription substantially identical with that of Malipiero, whose edition he seems to be unacquainted with. The only difference is the use of alternating $^{6}/_{8}$ and $^{3}/_{4}$ measures instead of Malipiero's $^{6}/_{4}$ measures (see Fig. 9). Epstein also gives a transcript of the original notation (with a few bar lines added that are not in the original edition), but the figures 3 are simply dismissed from the discussion as well as from his transcription.

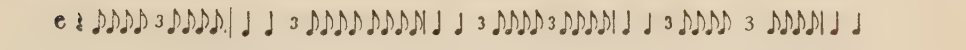
In summary we may say that all the transcriptions are based, openly or tacitly, on the assumption that the original notation is

[5] *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* viii (1926/7), p. 416.

faulty. In some of them (Eitner, d'Indy, Leichtentritt, Riemann) certain of the original note values are changed. This is a relatively minor flaw which can easily be remedied, as is shown by the renditions of Heuss, Malipiero, Orff, and Epstein. More serious is the fact that everyone of the transcriptions is at variance with the original as regards the figures 3. Considering only the transcriptions without changes of note values, it can be seen that these fall into two classes. One of these comprises the transcriptions of Heuss, Malipiero, and Epstein, which differ only in minor details of metrical grouping, resulting in a shift of accentuation. In all these the figures 3 are disregarded. The other class is represented by the version of Orff, which implies that the figures 3 should appear in shifted positions.

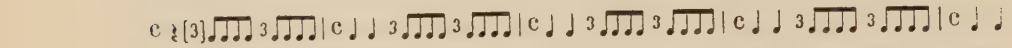
Must we accept this state of affairs as final? I believe not. Of course, there would be no point in adding to the extant versions yet another one involving a more or less drastic manipulation of the original. The question is whether it is possible to arrive at a version faithfully reproducing the original notation. The following is an attempt in this direction.

Let us first clarify the rhythmic structure of the original by reducing it to its essentials. Replacing all the sixteenth-notes by their equivalents in eighth-notes we arive at the following scheme:



There can be no doubt that the sign 3, whatever its meaning, is valid only up to the bar-line. In other words, the two quarter-notes appearing at the beginning of each measure are normal note values, not subject to the « triplet » sign. Furthermore, it is safe to assume that a bar-line is missing — or is to be imagined — in front of the first two quarter-notes ; in other words, that these two notes, like the other ones of the same kind, are also normal note values. Everyone familiar with the scores of the early seventeenth century, and particularly those of Monteverdi, knows that bar-lines are often drawn in a somewhat irregular manner, separating, in one and the same composition, groups of one, two, or four whole-notes. Personally, I am convinced that furthermore the sign 3 should also appear in front of the initial group of four eighth-notes, and for the time being we shall proceed on this assumption, although it may be disregarded by those who feel that this is going just one step too far in the direction of emendation or « manipulation ». Finally, it goes without saying that the second of the signs 3 is valid for all the eighth notes that come after it, in other words that it could

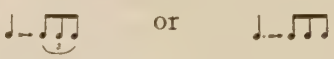
just as well be written twice, each time followed by four notes, as is the case in the subsequent measures. We may then proceed from the assumption that the rendition given below is exactly what the original notation means, only showing its rhythmic structure in greater clarity :



(It may be remarked that the figure 3 does not actually mean *proportio tripla* [3 : 1] but, as usually in the sixteenth century, *proportio sesquialtera* [3 : 2], so that three eighth-notes are equal to two normal eighth-notes or to one normal quarter-note. In other words, the figure 3 indicates the same temporal relationship as does the modern triplet sign).

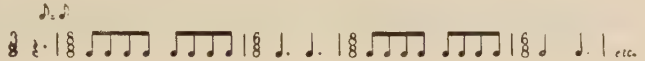
Realizing that here each time the « triplet » figure 3 is followed by four notes, one is tempted to exclaim, with Goethe, « Ist es schon Unsinn, hat es doch Methode », (Albeit nonsense, yet it showeth method). But Goethe's sarcasm is directed against mediaeval scholasticism, and, unless we are to admit scholastic thought as an element in Monteverdi, we will have to change Goethe's witticism into a mere rationalistic platitude which, however, in the present case is more likely to be in order : « If it has method, it cannot be nonsense ». In fact, it *is* not nonsense at all, but makes very good sense, once it is realized that the sign 3, as used in sixteenth-century notation, is not an exact equivalent of our modern triplet sign. Originally and properly, it means *proportio tripla*, that is, reduction of the note-values in the ratio of 1 to 3, so that each note under this sign has a duration one-third of its normal value. Modern notation has no means of indicating such trisected values, except by grouping three of them under a triplet sign. Actually, such grouping is not necessarily required by the use of *proportio tripla*. It is possible, at least theoretically, that trisected values may appear in groups of two or four (and others) as well of three and six [6].

Once this possibility is realized and admitted, the only remaining problem is how to express such rhythms in modern notation. We have two means of notating values standing in the relationship of one to three (or two to three) : either triplets for the smaller values, or dotted notes for the larger values :



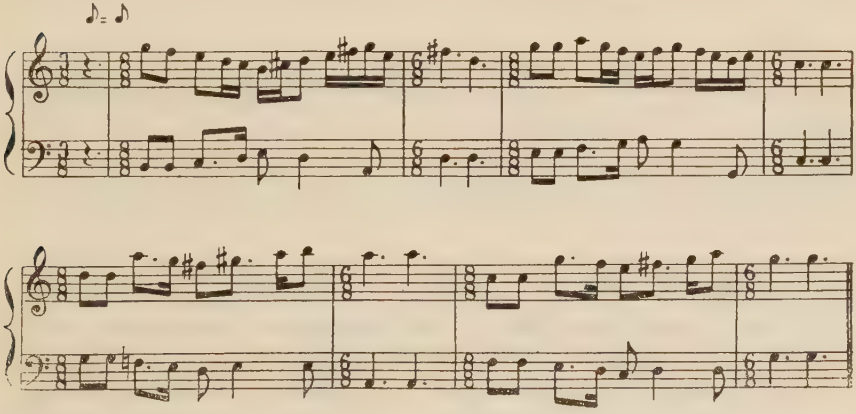
[6] Might this not be of interest to our *avant-guard* of the Messiaen group? Several years ago a student of the New England Conservatory came to me with a notation problem involving the use of such fractional note values. All I could do was to refer him to the proportional methods of the fifteenth century.

Obviously, the former manner of writing cannot be used for the present purpose, since it presupposes that the trisected values appear in groups of three. The other method, however, can readily be adapted for our purpose, since here the trisected values can be interpreted as the temporal unit and may, therefore, appear in other groupings, of four, five, etc. notes. The «normal» value of our schematic representation, appearing there under C, then becomes a triplicated, i. e., dotted note. Hence, we arrive at the following rendition of the meter in Monteverdi's ritornello [7] :



If our conjecture that the figure 3 should be added at the beginning is not accepted, the result is as follows :

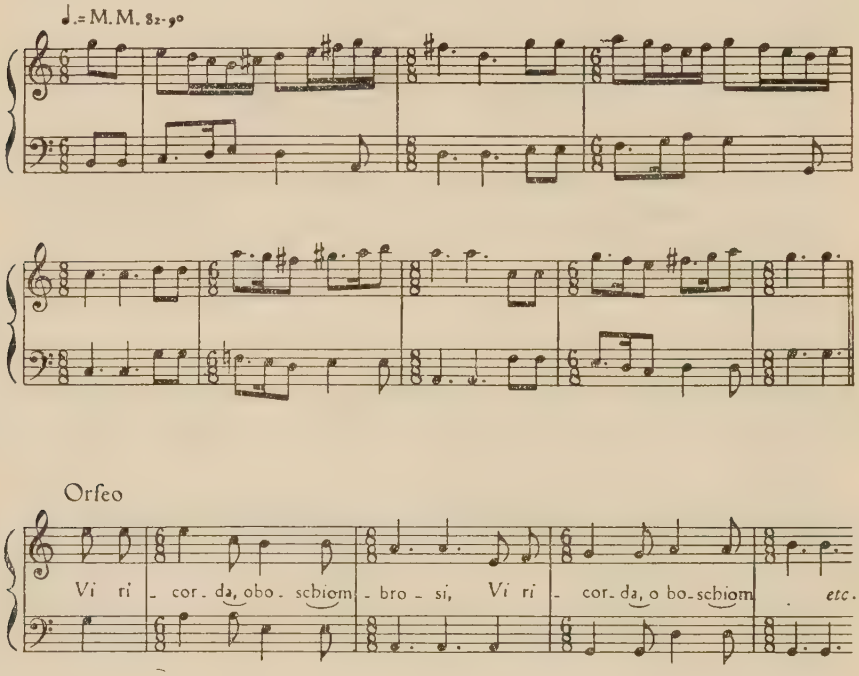
However, feeling confident that this conjecture will be acceptable, I should like to offer the following transcription of the ritornello, in which the bass is added in order to clarify the harmonic structure :



It will be noticed that in this rendition the first two eighth-notes of each $^{8}/_{8}$ measure have the character of an upbeat, the harmonically accented note being always the third. There is nothing to prevent us from changing the bar-lines in such a way as to indicate this rhythmic pulse in accordance with the accepted standards of present-

[7] Readers familiar with the problems of early notation will notice that Monteverdi's procedure loses much of its seeming oddity if the sixteenth-century theory of *tactus* (*tactus major, minor, proportionatus*) and of tempo stability (*tactus* = beat of the pulse, M. M. 70-80) is taken into consideration. The principles of this theory are explained in my *Notation of Polyphonic Music*, p. 188 ff.

day notation, all the less since there are no corresponding lines in the original. It goes without saying that the figures 3 indicate only the duration of the notes, without in any way implying a stress on the first note of each group. Applying the suggested change of bar-lines, we arrive at a result no less interesting, and probably even more convincing than the one just presented (the initial rest is omitted [8]) :



The « syncopated » rhythmic pattern of the $^{3}/_{8}$ measure, a familiar device of jazz, is frequent in oriental and semi-oriental folk music, e. g., Arabic and Hungarian. Did Monteverdi hear some such rhythms, e. g., during his travel to Hungary in 1595? If so, a new leaf may be added to his book of fame, crediting him with a sense of hearing subtle enough to perceive such strange rhythms, and with an intellect keen enough to find means of writing them down.

Indiana University,

[8] The rest appearing at the beginning of the ritornello probably served to give the beat silently before the instruments started. Perhaps this was a quick triple beat (*tactus proportionatus*) indicating the exact pace at which the eighth notes should be taken. The correct tempo for the ritornello is suggested by Michael Praetorius' statement (*Syntagma musicum* iii, p. 87 f) that in moderate speed there are 160 *tempora* (i. e., *breves*) to the quarter of an hour. This means that there are 160/15 *breves*, or 1240/15 *semiminims* to the minute, so that the semiminim (the dotted quarter-note of the above transcription) is M. M. 82.

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The Bibliography is prepared by the collaboration of Albert Van der Linden, Brussels ; Leonard Ellinwood, Washington, D. C. ; François Lesure, Paris ; Nino Pirrotta, Roma ; Bruno Stäblein, Regensburg ; O. W. Neighbour, London.

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A NOTE ON *CORPVS SCRIPTORVM DE MVSICA*

It is generally recognised that critical editions of musical treatises of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are urgently needed. All scholars know that Gerbert's and De Coussemaker's publications fall short of modern critical requirements, and that, moreover, there are many treatises still awaiting their first edition.

The publication of the body of Mediaeval and Renaissance musical treatises is a matter of very great interest and moment to musicology and also to Mediaeval scholarship in general. Such an undertaking, however, imposes an immense task of organization and research, and also requires the co-operation of all interested scholars. Moreover, the undertaking is extremely costly, more than once attempted and failed on financial grounds at least.

The American Institute of Musicology has launched the publication of *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* (*CSM*), which, as carried through, will make an indispensable and incalculable contribution to Mediaeval learning in general and to musicology in particular. It is the aim of the initiator of the plan and of the General Editor to make *CSM* as complete and as perfect as humanly possible. This can only be achieved by full co-operation of the present-generation scholars. The General Editor feels free to call on his fellow-musicologists and others for their co-operation, realizable by at least two means :

1. Before the printing of each treatise there will appear in *Musica Disciplina* a list of the manuscripts that will be accounted for in the critical apparatus. All musicologists and librarians are asked to be kind enough to draw the General Editor's attention to any source that they will find or suspect is missing in the list. One such list appears below for the edition of Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus*.

2. Musicologists who will wish to collaborate with *CSM* by undertaking the edition of one or more treatises (short treatises will be published in a *Collectio Tractatuum*), will please submit their proposals to the General Editor or to the Director of the Institute, who will furnish information on all details, scientific and otherwise.

Sources for the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo.

The General Editor of *CSM* (J. Smits van Waesberghe, Hobbemakade 51, Amsterdam), in this case also the Editor of the *Micrologus*, will be grateful for notification on any manuscripts not in the following list constituting his sources for the edition of *Micrologus*:

1 Admont 494 (Sibley Mus. Libr. Rochester)
2 Arlon-St. Hubert (fragm.)
3 Bern A. 9121
4 Berlin Ms. lat. oct. 265
5 Bruxelles 10159
6 Bruxelles 10162/66
7 Bruxelles II 784
8 Bruxelles II 4141
9 Bruxelles II 426 (fragm.)
10 Cambridge Trin. Coll. 944
11 Cambridge Trin. Coll. 1441
12 Darmstadt 1988
13 Erfurt Amplon 93
14 Erfurt Amplon 94
15 Firenze Bibl. Naz. Conv. Sopp. III 565
16 Firenze Bibl. Laur. Ashb. 1051
17 Firenze Bibl. Laur. Plut. 29, 48
18 Firenze Ricc. 625
19 Gent 70 (71)
20 Göttingen Phil. 84
21 Göttingen Phil. 83
22 Karlsruhe 504
23 Leyden, B.P.L. 194
24 London B.M. Add. 4915
25 London B.M. Add. 10335
26 London B.M. Add. 17808
27 London B.M. Add. 4912
28 London B.M. Harl. 281
29 London B.M. Harl. 3199
30 London B.M. Arund. 339
31 London B.M. Lansd. 763
32 London B.M. Arund. 130
33 München Clm. 9921
34 München Clm. 19421
35 München Clm. 5539
36 München Clm. 13021
37 München Clm. 14523
38 München Clm. 14663
39 München Clm. 14965a
40 München Clm. 4622
41 Milano Ambr. M 17 sup.
42 Milano Ambr. D 5 inf.
43 Milano Ambr. D 465 inf.
44 Montecassino 318
45 Oxford St. John's Coll. 150
46 Oxford St. John's Coll. 188
47 Oxford Ballial Coll. 173
48 Paris B.N. L. 7211
49 Paris B.N. L. 10508
50 Paris B.N. L. 7461
51 Paris B.N. L. 10509
52 Paris B.N. L. 2627 (fragm.)
53 Paris B.N. L. 16664 (fragm.)
54 Pistoia Bibl. Fabr. 100
55 Pommersfelden 142
56 Rein XXIV

X Rochester cf. N. 1.

57 Roma B.V. Reg. 1146
58 Roma Bibl. Vallic. B 81
59 Roma Bibl. Vat. Regin. 1616
60 Utrecht 406 (fragm.)
61 Verona Bibl. Cap. 264
62 Vienna Nat. Bibl. 51
63 Vienna Nat. Bibl. 787
64 Vienna Nat. Bibl. 2502
65 Vienna Nat. Bibl. 2503
66 Vienna Nat. Bibl. 4774
67 Wolfenbüttel Aug. Qu. 4. 11
68 Wolfenbüttel Gud. Lat. Qu. 334
69 Wolfenbüttel Helmst. 1050
70 Washington Libr. of Congress M.L. 171 J. 6

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Anonymus, *De Organo* (ex codice Laudunensi aliisque). — Jacques Handschin.

Anonymus, *Liber Argumentorum.* — J. Smits van Waesberghe.

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Anonymus, *Notitia del valore del canto misurato.* — Armen Carapetyan.

Aribo, *De musica.* — J. Smits van Waesberghe (published).

Aurelianus Reomensis, *Musica Disciplina.* — Jacques Handschin.

Bernardus, *Tonale.* — S. A. van Dijk.

Berno Augiensis, *Prologus in Tonarium cum Tonario.* — J. Schmidt-Görg.

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Frutolfus, *Breviarium de Musica cum Tonario.* — Bruno Stäblein.

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Ghiselinus Danckerts, *Sopra una differentia musicale... contra Don Nicola Vicentino.* — P. J. de Bruijn.

Guido Aretinus, *Micrologus.* — J. Smits van Waesberghe.

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Johannes Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti.* — Albert van der Linden.

Johannis Hothby, *Opera omnia de arte musica.* — Gilbert Reaney.

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Oddo (?), *Dialogus de Musica.* — Heinrich Hüschen.

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Petrus de Cruce, *Tractatus de Tonis.* — Arnold Geering.

Philippus Vitriacus, *Ars Nova.* — Heinrich Besseler.

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Unpublished Music from the Oxford MS. Can. Misc. 213. — Gilbert Reaney.

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1952 — Firenze, Tipografia L'Impronta S. p. A., Via Faenza, 54